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NOVEMBER MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the last month.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Curtis Guild, Jr., accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported gifts to the Society, of twenty-one engravings of Massachusetts persons, by Francis H. Brown; of a photogravure of Stuart's painting of Washington at Dorchester Heights, March 17, 1776, by the Massachusetts Society of Sons of the Revolution; of an engraving of William Pynchon, by J. A. J. Wilcox, the engraver; of twenty-nine Confederate War Etchings, made by Dr. A. J. Volck, of Baltimore, by William P. Palmer; of a souvenir plate made at the Wedgwood pottery, commemorative of the one hundredth anniversary of the establishment, by Otis Norcross in 1810, of the business now of Jones, McDuffie and Stratton Company; of five large framed lithographs of Clay, Jackson, Lafayette, Sumner, and Webster; of a framed photogravure of Stuart's (Athenæum) portrait of Washington; and of envelopes bearing Union devices issued during the Civil War, by Mr. Norcross. He also reported the deposit, by Roger Wolcott, of a lock of hair of George Washington, and one of Martha Washington, given by Mrs. Washington to Mrs. Oliver Wolcott in 1797.

Frederick Jackson Turner, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society, and Charles William Chadwick Oman, of Oxford, England, a Corresponding Member.

The PRESIDENT reported from the Council the assignment of the preparation of the memoir of our late associate John Noble to Mr. Rantoul; and that of Josiah P. Quincy to Mr. Howe.

The Editor announced the deposit in the Society, by Roger Wolcott, of manuscript material relating to the Wolcott and Huntington families of Connecticut. These manuscripts are chiefly letters that passed among the members of the Huntington family during the War of Independence, and the full accounts covering the construction of an armed vessel or privateer in that war.

The PRESIDENT then said:

Since our October meeting, two vacancies have arisen in our Resident roll. I have to announce the death of Morton Dexter, which occurred suddenly, though not without the premonition of ill health, at Edgartown on Saturday, October 29; also the death of Josiah Phillips Quincy, at his residence in this city two days later, on the afternoon of Monday, October 31. The Resident roll is thus reduced to ninety-six; at the time of his death Mr. Dexter, elected at the March meeting of 1895, stood thirty-third upon it in order of seniority, while the name of Mr. Quincy, elected at the May meeting of 1865, stood second, coming next to that of Dr. Green. Chosen a member at the meeting of the Society next preceding that of my first becoming its President, Mr. Dexter was elected in time to remember our former habitation in Tremont Street and the original Dowse-room with its outlook on the tombs of John Winthrop and John Cotton in the adjoining King's Chapel burying-ground. The Society held its last meeting there in April, 1897 — its Annual Meeting; Mr. Dexter was, therefore, one of those now composing a small and rapidly diminishing minority of our present active membership — a minority reduced already to less than one-third of the whole. Thirty years the senior of Mr. Dexter in membership of the Society, Mr. Quincy was elected at the meeting which immediately succeeded the dramatic closing of the War of Secession in April, 1865; and, glancing over the report of that meeting in our printed *Proceedings*, I find myself carried very far back by the names of those who took active part therein. Mr. Winthrop, then President, occupied the chair, and Dr. Holmes and Mr. Savage spoke on the commemoration of the six hundredth anniversary of the birth of Dante, then being generally observed in Italy. Of those present Dr. Green alone remains.

The custom is now tolerably well established that, when

announcing here the death of a member, the presiding officer confines himself to a bare statement of that member's connection with the Society and contributions to it, leaving to others any tribute to be paid or characterization offered. Following this practice, I have now merely to say that Mr. Dexter was when elected a man of fifty, and became almost immediately an active and contributing member. Recorded as present at eighty-five of the one hundred and thirty-eight meetings of the Society held during his membership, in 1898 he became a member of the Council, and served as such for three years. He also served on various committees, besides preparing memoirs of E. G. Porter and J. E. Sanford. In October, 1901, he represented the Society as its delegate at the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the University of Glasgow. Finally, he was one of the special committee recently appointed to supervise the memorial publication of the Bradford history and papers now in course of preparation. For this last work he was peculiarly qualified both by disposition and training, and his death creates a void not easily filled. I have invited Mr. Franklin B. Dexter, of New Haven, a Corresponding Member of the Society, to be present on this occasion and offer a tribute to his kinsman and friend, and shall presently call upon him. To Mr. Dexter will also be assigned the preparation of a memoir.

It remains for me to speak of Mr. Quincy. Of him it may almost be said that his death comes very near to marking the close of an epoch in our history, for the name of Quincy with him disappears from a roll on which, with one very brief interval of ten months only, it has stood for one hundred and fourteen years. The membership of the Winthrop family only has been more continuous; for Josiah Quincy, third of the name, elected July 26, 1796, did not die until July 1, 1864; and his grandson, whose death I to-day announce, was, as I have already said, elected on the 11th of the following May. Mr. Quincy was always an active member of the Society. A frequent, if not a regular attendant at its meetings, he served two years (1889-1891) on the Council and at other times on various committees. He prepared memoirs of T. H. Webb (1882), of R. C. Waterston (1893), of O. B. Frothingham (1896), and of Edmund Quincy (1904).

Of Mr. Quincy I had intended to say more, offering a characterization; for, though the names of three others of the Harvard class of 1850 appear on our Resident roll, one of whom (Mr. T. J. Coolidge) still survives, I cannot but fancy that I am by family connection and tradition, as well as by long personal acquaintance, as well qualified to speak understandingly on the subject as any one likely to be present. I feel, however, debarred from so doing; for, on the day following Mr. Quincy's funeral, a brief, sealed communication, found among the papers on his desk, addressed to the President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, was sent to my office by his son, and in this he earnestly requested that the observance usual here on the death of a member might in his case be, as it was expressed, "indefinitely postponed." This request of Mr. Quincy's will, of course, so far as the present occasion is concerned, be respected, and I shall neither myself say, nor call upon another to say, anything more. It is otherwise, however, as respects the preparation of the usual formal memoir, to appear with his portrait in our printed *Proceedings*. His *post mortem* communication might possibly be construed to cover that also; but I do not think it was so intended. And, moreover, on that head other points, as well as the views and wishes of other persons, are to be considered.

And this suggests a matter concerning which I am not at all unwilling now to go upon record. I have frequently heard it urged that too large a portion of our printed volumes of *Proceedings* is devoted to memoirs and tributes to deceased members. Anything, of course, can be carried to excess; and, perhaps, in times past this custom may in individual cases have with us been carried too far; but I do not think such is now the case. I, in fact, regard the memoirs and tributes to our deceased members as the most unique and by no means the least valuable part of our record. With us in America the time has not come, but I feel sure it will come, when the high standard of biographical dictionary work set for other countries in the British *Dictionary of National Biography* will produce its results. At present all our American biographical dictionaries — one of the more important portions of the historical record — are wretchedly inadequate. Mere publishing-house ventures, purely mercantile in make-up, they are both

imperfect and unreliable. Mr. Stephen, as he then was, — afterwards Sir Leslie Stephen, — established in the Smith compilation a model we have been slow to imitate. When, however, in the fulness of time, such a work is at last undertaken, to include all American biography, there are few sources to which the compiler will have more constant recourse than to our body of memoirs, amounting now, I should suppose, to between 300 and 400, — a mass of information otherwise practically inaccessible, if not irrevocably lost.

Neither do I think that our habit of offering a tribute or characterization, in addition to the memoir, is in any way a mistake, or, as a rule, has been carried in our recent practice to excess. The memoir can be prepared by almost any one who has access to papers and documents. The tribute or characterization, however, is something which goes, so to speak, to the heart of the matter, and can only be adequately offered by some one familiarly acquainted with him who is gone, and able to speak of him from personal knowledge. Memoir and characterization, therefore, throw light upon each other. Sometimes we have combined them; and this, wherever practicable, appears to me to be a judicious practice. As presiding officer of the Society I have encouraged and facilitated it wherever and whenever the opportunity offered. Not infrequently, however, it is, for one reason or another, necessary that, while the tribute is paid, or characterization offered, by one person, the memoir can best be prepared by some other, not necessarily even a member of the Society. The only thing I would insist upon, and have frequently suggested, is that the characterization be limited, save in most exceptional cases, to ten minutes' utterance, so as not to interfere with the more elaborate memoir, or with the other business connected with our sessions.

Applying these general principles to the present case, while, in accordance with the request of Mr. Quincy, I now omit all effort at characterization, though I do so with regret, — for Mr. Quincy was in many respects an interesting personality, — yet it does not seem to me right that no memoir of him should be found in our printed record. It is to be remembered that Mr. Quincy was a member of one of those American families

which have the longer and the more creditable records. Few, indeed, could be named which would take precedence in these respects of the Quincys. The record, too, has been continuous through at least six generations. I should regard it as a misfortune if, at some future time, when our *Dictionary of National Biography* shall be prepared, a missing link should be found in the case of our late member in the Quincy family record. Indeed, Mr. Quincy's desire to the contrary notwithstanding, no such hiatus would exist. The investigator would merely be thrown back on contemporaneous newspaper reports. From that point of view, it is, of course, infinitely better that something authentic should be on file. These conclusions, I have also reason to believe, accord with the feelings of Mr. Quincy's immediate family. While, therefore, no further characterization of him will be offered at this time, the preparation of his memoir, on behalf of the Society, will be assigned to his son-in-law, our associate Mr. M. A. De Wolfe Howe.

Mr. DEXTER read the following paper:

In response, Mr. President, to your invitation, I have come to offer the tribute of an old friend to Mr. Dexter's memory. Indeed, unless some contemporary of his in the Roxbury Latin School is here, I may perhaps claim to have known him longer than any one in this company.

My recollections date from his coming to Yale in 1863, forty-seven years ago, at the age of seventeen; and he was then the same in nature and character, amiable, generous, enthusiastic, that he was ever after. An acquaintance with his father, due to common historical interests rather than to a very distant kinship, was the basis of our friendship; and I am glad to remember that the fact that I was for two considerable periods, in his freshman and again in his junior year, a young and immature tutor of his class, did not interrupt it.

In college he maintained a creditable standing in all respects, though distinguished rather as a writer than as a scholar; and he was socially prominent among his classmates.

Devotion to his father, and readiness to tread in his father's footsteps, were no doubt in part the ground of his choice of a profession, and so having enjoyed an unusually prolonged period of study and travel, he entered on the Christian ministry;

but after a single pastorate, lasting for over five years, in a somewhat difficult field, he — again following his father's example — resigned the ministry, and for twenty-three years pursued the career of an editor in the office of the *Congregationalist*, of which his father had long been editor-in-chief and the principal proprietor. Here, until after Dr. Dexter's death in 1890, he gave himself mainly and increasingly to the department of book-reviews, and apparently to himself and to others his interest and his power lay in the direction of literary criticism.

But after 1890 circumstances led him to another field, of historical research, which we now and here think of as pre-eminently his. His father had nearly completed the first draft of an elaborate study on the environment of the Pilgrim in England and Holland; and inasmuch as his son had manifested no special interest in these lines of investigation, he, in view of his own death, made other arrangements for the completion of this work.

Fortunately, the son's filial piety led to his being persuaded to undertake further study in the preparation of this volume for the press; with the result that a latent hereditary interest in historical matters was greatly stimulated, so that he gave his matured powers to this special task, and thus in the end came justly to be known as a foremost authority in everything relating to the Pilgrim story.

His election to this Society in 1895 gave him great satisfaction, as the best evidence that his attainments and his promise were appreciated, and that as his father's successor here a new field would open to him of enjoyment and activity.

In 1901 new arrangements for the management of the *Congregationalist* made his retirement possible, and thus left him free to give himself wholly to the work which his father had laid down. The result was that he practically re-wrote and condensed that whole work, with infinite pains not only verifying every quotation, and every reference to printed authorities, but also re-examining to a considerable extent the manuscript archives of which Dr. Dexter had in former years been a pioneer explorer. The book appeared at length in 1905, but so much changed in contents from the first draft that it is in fine much more the son's book than the father's, and made so with the

entirely just conviction that in this form it more perfectly represents the author's original conception.

Other writings on different phases of the same theme need no detailed reference, as they give only added illustrations of a similar effect.

From what the man thought and did to what he was, is no violent transition. His character had no complications and no obscurities. The briefest summary carries the whole story.

Those who knew him most thoroughly appreciate most keenly his instinctive, uniform courtesy; his capacity and even hunger for friendship; his unfailing loyalty to those near and dear to him and to the principles in which he had been trained, — and this without a trace of bigotry or any lack of appreciation for others' point of view; his scrupulous devotion to accuracy, which thought no time misspent and no pains wasted in its achievement; an unwearied promptness and efficiency in practical life — these, and such as these, are the qualities which go to make up the picture as we recall him.

His health began to fail, months before his sudden death, and both he and his friends were aware of his danger. He had passed, to be sure, his grand climacteric, but we do not think of him as growing old; enticing projects of fruitful labor lay just within his reach; like the most of us, he had given hostages to fortune, and his life was tenderly bound up with the lives and purposes of others. It is perhaps natural to say that he died out of due time. But would so sane a spirit as his have so felt? I cannot think of him, at the supreme moment of conscious existence, as querulous or regretful or as other than his own self, — cheerful, serene, and confident, without fear and without reproach.

Mr. C. F. ADAMS then read extracts from a paper on

CONTEMPORARY OPINION ON THE HOWES.

In the paper submitted at the last meeting of the Society reference was made to three bound volumes, containing a collection of pamphlets, long in the possession of the Society, lettered on the back "Miscellanies" and "Howe Miscellanies." These three volumes, together with three volumes of Almon's *Remembrancer* for the year 1776, were given to the Society in

1804, by Isaac Parker, Jr., of Roxbury, son of Isaac Parker (1749-1805).¹ They originally belonged to one Israel Mauduit, concerning whom all necessary information can be found in the English *Dictionary of National Biography*. At a critical juncture agent in London of the Province of Massachusetts-bay, Mauduit was the writer of many pamphlets, and thoroughly familiar with the whole course of American events leading up to the War of Independence. In the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* the writer thereof, W. P. Courtney, says that after Mauduit's death, which occurred in London, 14 June, 1787, "his library was sold by John Walker of Paternoster Row." This series of pamphlets was apparently part of his library. The collection is of itself one of great interest and rarity, but its value is enhanced not only by a number of contemporaneous newspaper clippings relating to the topics discussed, pasted into its pages, but also by copious manuscript annotations in Mauduit's handwriting, containing statements and reports of conversations of considerable historical moment. On these I have asked Mr. Ford to report;² for to him I am indebted for my acquaintance with a very valuable "find." On this head, therefore, I have now nothing further to say.

So far as I personally am concerned, the "find," however, was singularly opportune. The material has a direct bearing on certain papers heretofore prepared by me, and especially two which will form part of our *Proceedings*, — that entitled "Washington and Cavalry," submitted at our May meeting,³ and that entitled "The Campaign of 1777," submitted at the last meeting.⁴ I have therefore caused copies to be made of a few of the manuscript annotations in these volumes; of certain of the newspaper clippings pasted into them; and of several passages from the pamphlets themselves, not readily accessible but all containing matter of true historical importance bearing immediately on the topics discussed in the papers referred to.

The first of these clippings is a letter signed "T. P." relating to the battle of Bunker Hill, and printed in the issue of the *London Chronicle* for August 3, 1779.

¹ *Proceedings*, I. 167.

³ *Proceedings*, XLIII. 547.

² P. 144, *infra*.

⁴ Pp. 13-65, *supra*.

Of this communication more than one copy is found in these volumes, and in each instance the initials have been erased by the pen, and "I. M." or "Mauduit" written, thus disclosing the authorship.

I print the communication in full, as it is most illuminating as to the British tactics pursued at Bunker Hill, and is in direct and even curious degree confirmatory of certain views contained in a paper of mine published in the *American Historical Review* of April, 1896 (Vol. I. pp. 401-413). Singularly enough, also, those views have, without direct reference to them or apparent knowledge of them, recently been controverted by one now a member of the Society.¹ It is therefore not without a certain sense of satisfaction that I adduce this extraordinarily conclusive bit of contemporaneous and loyalist evidence in support of the conclusions reached by me fourteen years ago:

If the English General had had his choice given him of the ground upon which he should find his enemy, he could not have wished to place the rebels in a situation for more certain ruin, than that in which they had placed themselves at Bunker's-hill. And yet, from some fatality in our councils, or rather perhaps from the total absence of all timely counsel, what ought to have been destructive to them proved only so to the royal army.

Every one knows, that the ground on which stood Charlestown and Bunker's-hill was a peninsula. The isthmus, which joined it to the Continent, used originally to be covered at high water; but, for the convenience of the inhabitants, had a causeway raised upon it, which answered all the purposes of a wharf for landing upon. And the land adjoining was firm, good ground, having formerly been an apple orchard.

Nothing can be more obvious, especially if the Reader will look upon the plan, than that the army, by landing at the neck or isthmus, must have entirely cut off the rebels retreat, and not a man of them could have escaped.

The water in the Mystic river was deep enough for the gun-boats and smaller vessels to lie very near to this causeway; to cover and protect the landing of our own army, and to prevent any farther reinforcements being sent to the enemy, as well as to secure the retreat and re-embarkation of our own army, if that could have become necessary.

¹ Address of Hon. Curtis Guild, Jr. *Proceedings of Bunker Hill Monument Association*, 1910, p. 33.

The ambuscade which flanked our troops in their march up to Bunker's-hill, and did so much mischief, had by this means been avoided.

Instead of shutting up the rebels, by landing at the isthmus, which was the place the most commodious for the descent, and for beginning the attack, the General unhappily chose to land in the face of the rebel intrenchments, and at the greatest possible distance from the neck or isthmus, and thereby left the way open for their escape; and still more unhappily, knowing nothing of the ground, attempted to march the troops in a part, where they had ten or twelve rows of railing to clamber over; the lands between Charlestown and the beach being for the convenience of the inhabitants divided into narrow slips, not more than from ten to thirty rods over.

These posts and rails were too strong for the column to push down, and the march was so retarded by the getting over them, that the next morning they were found studded with bullets, not a hand's breadth from each other.

All this was well known to the inhabitants of Boston: But they thought that military men, and such a great English General as Mr. Howe, must know better than they. And all this might have been known, and ought to have been known to the English Commander.

Had the rebels coming into this peninsula been a thing utterly unexpected, and never before thought of, the suddenness of the event might have been an apology for their not instantly thinking of the measures most proper to be taken upon such an occasion. But, far from unexpected, this was an event, which they had long been apprehensive of, the possibility of which had been in contemplation for two months before. The action at Bunker's-hill was on the 17th of June; and so long before as the 21st of April, a message had been sent to the Selectmen of Charlestown, that if they suffered the rebels to take possession of their town, or to throw up any works to annoy the ships, the ships would fire upon them. The message giving them this warning doubtless was very proper: But it was easy to foresee, that if the rebels chose to possess themselves of any part of the peninsula, the inhabitants of Charlestown could not prevent it. In all these eight weeks, therefore, it might have been hoped, that the General and Admiral should have concerted the proper measures for them to take, in case the enemy should come thither. It might have been hoped, that the Admiral should have perfectly informed himself of the depth of the water in the Mystic-river, and how near at the several times of the tide the vessels could come to the causeway. We might have hoped that the General

would have informed himself of every inch of ground in so small a peninsula; and have previously concerted what he ought to do, and where he ought to land, upon every appearance of an enemy. And yet we do not seem to have given ourselves the trouble of a single thought about viewing the ground, or of considering beforehand what would be the proper measures to be taken in case the enemy should appear there. Instead of this, the morning on which the enemy was discovered, at three o'clock, a council of war was to be called, which might as well have been held a month before, and many hours more given to the rebels for carrying on their works, and finishing their redoubt.

The map will show us that Charlestown-neck lies at the utmost passable distance from the rebel quarters at Cambridge and Boston neck; so that the troops had every possible advantage in landing at the causeway, and not a single man of the rebels could have escaped.

Is it necessary for a gentleman to be a soldier to see this? Will not every man's common sense, upon viewing the map, be convinced of it?

Whether, after the rebels were fled, Gen. Clinton's advice to pursue was right or not, may be made a doubt: But if instead of having sacrificed the lives of a thousand brave men by the want of all previous concert, and never having surveyed the ground; if, instead of this negligence and inattention, we had shut up the whole rebel force in the peninsula, and destroyed and taken that whole army, there can be no doubt, but that we might then have pursued our advantage; and that if then we had marched to Roxbury and Cambridge, the troops would probably have not found a man there to oppose them; at least in that general consternation, they might very easily have been dispersed; and the other provinces not having then openly joined them, we should probably have heard nothing more of the rebellion.

It was said at the time, I have heard, that we were unwilling to make the rebels desperate; but I hope no military man would offer to give such a reason. Veteran troops, long possessed with a very high sense of honour, like the old Spanish infantry at Rocroy, might possibly resolve to die in their ranks, and sell their lives as dearly as they could, though I know no instance in modern war of this Spanish obstinacy. But for regular British troops to be afraid of shutting up a rabble of irregular new raised militia, that had never fired a gun, and had no honour to lose, lest they should fight too desperately for them, argues too great a degree of weakness, to be supposed of any man fit to be trusted in the King's service. Happy had it been for Mr. Burgoyne, if Mr. Gates had reasoned in this

manner; and left the King's troops a way open for their escape, for fear of making them desperate. And yet Mr. Gates, when he lived with his father in the service of Charles Duke of Bolton,¹ was never thought to possess an understanding superior to other men; and the letters of some of the most sensible and best informed men among the rebels show, that they thought him scarce equal to the command.

But what was it we had to fear by this notion of making them desperate? The rebels could not but see the execution they had done upon the royal army in their march; and yet they ran away the instant our troops were got up to them — Was this their point of honour? Had they found themselves cut off from all possibility of retreat by our army's landing at the isthmus, in all probability they would have instantly thrown down their arms and submitted. If they had not, they must then have come out of their intrenchments, and fought their way through our army to get to the Isthmus: that is to say, we chose to land, and march up to their intrenchments, and fight under every possible disadvantage, for fear that by landing at the neck, we should have obliged them to come out of their intrenchments, and fight us upon equal terms, or even upon what disadvantages the General should please to lay in their way. But the innumerable errors of that day, if they had been known in time, might have sufficiently convinced us, how little was to be expected from an army so commanded.

T. P.

The pamphlet No. 8 in the first volume of the Mauduit Collection, entitled "A View of the Evidence Relative to the Conduct of the American War under Sir William Howe," has this preliminary manuscript annotation in Galloway's handwriting:

¹ [Burke, a not impeccable authority, states that Charles Paulet was the fifth Duke of Bolton, dying in 1765, and leaving a natural daughter. The fourth Duke was Harry Paulet, the dates of whose birth and death are not given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and the sixth was also named Harry (1719-1794), an admiral. Bolton Castle is in Yorkshire. It has usually been stated that the parents of Gates were the butler and housekeeper of the Duke of Leeds, and that Horace Walpole, a youth visiting the Duke at the time of Gates's birth, good-naturedly consented to act as his godfather. The member of the family at the time was Thomas [Osborne], fourth Duke of Leeds (1713-1789?). The daughter of Thomas Osborne (1631-1712, better known as Earl of Danby than as Duke of Leeds) married Horatio Walpole, dying without issue. This gives support to the legend of the younger Walpole as godfather to Gates. Gates is said to have been born at Malden, Essex County. It is difficult to harmonize the various statements, but the writer of the letter, Mauduit himself, seems to have known of Gates. W. C. F.]

Lord Howe's conduct towards Mr. Galloway here in England was exactly similar to that in America. In America, when he knew Mr. Galloway was coming to England, In order to secure him in his interest; he offer'd him a passage in his own Ship. And when Galloway declined the offer, he then prevented his getting a passage in another Ship of Force. So that at length he was obliged to venture over in an unarm'd Vessel; tho he knew, that if he should be taken, the Rebels would certainly hang him.

In England, when Mr. Galloway was bro't to the Bar of the house of Commons, Lord Howe tryed to Soften him by fulsom Flattery: Telling the house, in his hearing, that Mr. Galloway was a Gentleman of understanding and veracity, and the house might depend upon the Truth of what he Said. But after he had given his Evidence; he said, that he suppos'd the Gentleman's Poverty and not his will consented.¹

This pamphlet is in part made up (pp. 71-145) of certain letters and documents entitled "Fugitive Pieces respecting the American War." To these is prefixed the following note: "Lord Howe in a speech April 29th, gave the following reasons for demanding an enquiry. His conduct and his Brother's had been arraigned in Pamphlets and in News Papers, written by persons in high credit and confidence with Ministers; by several Members of that House, in that House, in the face of the Nation; by some of great credit and respect in their public characters, known to be countenanced by Administration: and that one of them in particular, (Governor Johnstone²) had made the most direct and specific charges."

¹ June 30. "Galloway and Mauduit in the evening: the former very angry with Lord Howe, for comparing him to the Apothecary in Romeo, whose poverty had driven him to say what he did not think: desires to publish his own examination." — Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, II. 264.

These words were applied by Galloway to Viscount Howe, in his *Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Howe*, No. 7 in this Mauduit Collection. See under that number for Mauduit's comment.

² [It may be said that Howe was as fortunate in his English opponents as he had been in America when pitted against the Continental army. George Johnstone was an excellent example of the time-serving member of Parliament, who would stickle at nothing in the support of the Ministry. Entering Parliament by way of one of the "rotten boroughs" owned by Sir James Lowther, afterwards Earl of Lonsdale, he loyally supported the measures of the administration, as much noted for his shameless and scurrilous utterances, as for his reputation for his skill with a pistol. He was appointed one of the commissioners of 1778 to treat with the American colonies, but so conducted himself that his colleagues (Earl of Carlisle and the Howes) disavowed his acts, and he was forced to retire from the Commission. His blunder consisted in seeking by private arrangement

First among these "Fugitive Pieces" is a "Letter from Boston," dated July 5, 1775, or the eighteenth day subsequent to the battle on Bunker Hill. It was apparently written by a British officer serving under General Gage, to some friend in England, and had been very generally handed about in official circles. The portion of this letter relating to the events of June 17 is as follows:

On the 17th of June, at day break, we saw the rebels at work throwing up intrenchments on Bunkers hill; by mid-day they had completed a redoubt of earth about thirty yards square on the height; and from the left of that, a line of about half a mile in length down to Mystic river: of this line 100 yards next the redoubt was also earth, about five feet high, all the rest down to the water consisted of two rows of fence rails, the interval filled with bushes, hay, and grass, which they found on the spot ready cut.

Early in the afternoon, from a battery in the corner of the redoubt, they fired seven or eight shot into the north end of the town; one shot went through an old house, another through a fence, and the rest stuck in the face of Cobb's [Copp's] hill.

At this time their lines were attacked by Major General Howe at the head of 1600 men, composed of 20 companies of grenadiers and light infantry, 40 men each, with the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d regiment. General Howe commanded on the right with the light infantry, Brigadier General Pigot on the left; while Pigot attacked the redoubt, Howe was to force the grass fence, gain the rebel's left flank and rear, and surround the redoubt.

Our troops advanced with great confidence, expecting an easy victory. As they were marching up to attack, our artillery stopped firing, the General on enquiring the reason was told they had got twelve pound balls to six pounders, but that they had grape shot; on this he ordered them forward and to fire grape. As we approached, an incessant stream of fire poured from the rebel lines, it seemed a continued sheet of fire for near thirty minutes. Our light infantry were served up in companies against the grass fence, without being able to penetrate; indeed how could we penetrate, most of our grenadiers and light infantry the moment of presenting themselves, lost 3-fourths, and many 9-tenths of their men. Some had only

to bribe some of the American leaders. Returning to England, he set up as an authority on American affairs, and became an uncompromising critic of Keppel and Howe, "in a series of speeches which prove his ignorance of his profession." "He seems to have had courage," writes Prof. J. K. Laughton, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "but was without self-restraint, temper, or knowledge." W. C. F.]

eight and nine men a company left, some only three, four and five. On the left Pigot was staggered and actually retreated; observe our men were not driven back, they actually retreated by orders: great pains has been taken to huddle up this matter: however, they almost instantly came on again and mounted the redoubt. The rebels then run without firing another shot, and our men who first mounted gave them a fire or two on their backs. At this time Warren their commander fell: he was a Physician, little more than thirty years of age; he died in his best cloaths; everybody remembered his fine silk fringed waistcoat. The right flank of the rebel lines being now gained, and not the left as was intended, their whole body ran along the neck to Cambridge. No pursuit was made.

We have lost 1000 men killed and wounded. We burned Charlestown during the engagement, as the rebels from it exceedingly galled our left. Major Pitcairn was killed from it. Too great a confidence in ourselves, which is always dangerous, occasioned this dreadful loss. Let us take the bull by the horns was the phrase of some great men among us as we marched on. We went to battle without even reconnoitering the position of the enemy. Had we only wanted to drive them from their ground without the loss of a man, the Cymetry transport which drew little water, and mounted 18 nine pounders, could have been towed up Mystic channel, and brought to within musket shot of their left flank which was quite naked, and she could have lain water borne at the lowest ebb tide; or one of our covered boats, musket proof, carrying a heavy piece of cannon, might have been rowed close in, and one discharge on their uncovered flank, would have dislodged them in a second.

Had we intended to have taken the whole rebel army prisoners, we needed only have landed in their rear and occupied the high ground above Bunkers hill, by this movement we shut them up in the Peninsula as in a bag, their rear exposed to the fire of our cannon, and if we pleased our musketry; in short, they must have surrendered instantly, or been blown to pieces.

But from an absurd and destructive confidence, carelessness, or ignorance, we have lost a thousand of our best men and officers, and have given the rebels great matter of triumph, by showing them what mischief they can do us. They were not followed though Clinton proposed it. Their deserters since tell us that not a man would have remained at Cambridge, had but a single regiment been seen coming along the neck.

Had we seen and rejected all the advantages I have mentioned above, even our manner of attacking in front was ruinous. In advancing, not a shot should have been fired, as it retarded the troops,

whose movement should have been as rapid as possible. They should not have been brought up in line, but in columns with light infantry in the intervals, to keep up a smart fire against the top of the breastwork. If this had been done, their works would have been carried in three minutes, with not a tenth part of our present loss.

We should have been forced to retire, if General Clinton had not come up with a reinforcement of 5 or 600 men. This re-established the left under Pigot, and saved our honour. The wretched blunder of the over sized balls sprung from the dotage of an officer of rank in that corps, who spends his whole time in dallying with the School-master's daughters. God knows he is old enough — he is no Sampson — yet he must have his Dalilah.

Another circumstance equally true and astonishing is, that General Gage had undoubted intelligence early in May, that the rebels intended to possess Bunkers hill, yet no step was taken to secure that important post, though it commanded all the north part of the town. He likewise had an exact return of the corps that composed the rebel army then investing the town; of every piece of cannon they possessed; of their intended lines of blockade; and of the numbers expected, and on their march from the other Provinces.

We are all wrong at the head. My mind cannot help dwelling upon our cursed mistakes. Such ill conduct at the first outset, argues a gross ignorance of the most common and obvious rules of the profession, and gives us for the future anxious forebodings. I have lost some of those I most valued. This madness or ignorance nothing can excuse. The brave men's lives were wantonly thrown away. Our conductor as much murdered them as if he had cut their throats himself on Boston common. Had he fallen, ought we to have regretted him?

I come next to the operations on Long Island in the closing days of August, 1776. Of these, also, I have had occasion to write,¹ and in regard to them have reached certain conclusions, which, with a view to early re-publication, I am now re-examining. One of the more serious charges advanced against Sir William Howe in connection with this movement of his was the failure to clinch his decisive success at Flatbush and Bedford on the morning of August 27th by following the routed Patriots over the defences and into Brooklyn. There is no doubt that the British grenadiers, flushed with easy victory,

¹ *American Historical Review*, i. 650.

were eager to go ahead and could with difficulty be restrained. With characteristic confidence in his own military insight and judgment Fiske dismisses the matter lightly, asserting that "Howe's men were tired with marching, if not with fighting"; and, the following day, "Washington would have courted a storm, in which he was almost sure to be victorious," and, as the outcome of which, the British "would probably have been repulsed with great slaughter."¹ After examining the evidence, my own conclusions were quite different, in fact wholly at variance with those thus authoritatively pronounced. In my judgment the position of the Patriot army was at that juncture critical in the extreme; their defences amounted to little; and, in fact, they owed their deliverance to the well-nigh inexplicable caution, combined with dilatoriness, of Sir William Howe. This view of the situation I find fully justified by marginal annotations in Mauduit's volumes.

The following, for instance, is a written comment from the third pamphlet in the first volume of the Collection, entitled "Remarks upon Gen. Howe's Account of his Proceedings on Long Island." The pamphlet is one of Mauduit's preparing, and was published in London in 1778.

On page 10, referring to Howe's failure to follow up his success at Flatbush, Mauduit wrote:

Can the reader wonder, that the troops were thus eager for the attack, and that it required repeated orders to prevail upon them to desist, when the General himself was of opinion, and every other man plainly saw, that the lines must have been forced, and the whole rebel army taken or destroyed?

Then comes the following manuscript note by Mauduit:

Governor Wentworth told me, that Gen'l Vaughan told him, that he sent word to Gen'l Howe, that he would take the Redoubt with inconsiderable Loss. The answer, as Wentworth said he had seen it related, was: That the Troops had for that day done handsomely enough.²

¹ *The American Revolution*, I. 209, 210.

² In another copy of this pamphlet, in Volume II., Mauduit continues this note thus: "D. B. told me that when this Gazette came to N. York, Gen'l Vaughan sent it back to Lord Lisbon with this note: Tho' I 3 times sent him word by my aid de camp that I would take the Redoubt with the Loss of less than a hundred men." General [Sir John] Vaughan (1748?-1795) was a younger son of Wilmot Vaughan, third Viscount Lisburne.

Saturday, Dec. 4th, 1779, Gen'l Vaughan dined in Sackville Street, and then said the same thing; and added that the Consternation of the Rebels was so great, that the very camp women that followed his Regiment took them prisoners.¹

Governor Thomas Hutchinson's house was that referred to as being in Sackville Street, and John, afterwards Sir John, Vaughan, then a Colonel with the local American rank of Major-General, was in command of a column of the British grenadiers at Brooklyn. He accompanied Lord Cornwallis to England at the close of 1776; subsequently returning to New York, and attaining the full rank of Major-General, he served under Sir Henry Clinton.

The following, relating to the same matter, also in Mauduit's handwriting, is found upon a leaf of writing-paper pasted in after the final page (54) of the pamphlet:

Mr. Thomas told me, He lay in Cleveland's Tent and march'd, on the morning of the Rebels' Flight, with the Artillery: and that the trench was level'd and fill'd up so as that the Train pass'd over it, in Six or Eight Minutes. He also told me he heard the officers say, that they could leap their horses over this Trench.

Mr. ² told me that he accurately examined this Trench, that he was sure it was nowhere more than four feet deep, he believ'd three foot.

Colonel Willard told me that these Lines consisted [were] only of a ditch of 3 feet Depth, and the Dirt which was thrown up out of it. And that the next day after the Rebels had left it, he himself (a tall big man) leap'd his horse over it. That just on each side of the Road leading to the Ferry there was an abbattee: but everywhere else there was none for half a mile together, from one Redoubt to another, and it consisted of nothing more than an ordinary Fence of a Ditch and the Dirt thrown up out of it, that his [my] horse Jump'd over, he added Ask Lutwych; he will tell you the same. Mr. Thomas told that this Abbattee was made with the apple trees of an orchard belonging to an old Dutchman Covenhoven.³ That the old man show'd it to him and complain'd that the Rebels had cut down his Newtown Pippen Trees to no purpose for you see said

¹ [A bit of corroboratory evidence is to be found in Hutchinson's *Diary*. Under this date he wrote: "Gen'l Vaughan is ordered out immediately to the West Indies. He and Sir Rich'd Sutton, Sir W. Pepperell, Livius, Galloway and Dr. Chandler, dined with me." — *Diary and Letters*, II. 300. W. C. F.]

² A blank in the ms.

³ Nicholas Cowenhoven.

he the Kings troops had only to march a little on one side or the other, and there was no abbattee to hinder their passing. This Dutchman, Thomas told me, had built three good houses for himself and his two Sons. The Rebels burned his Sons two houses, and came to burn his; but luckily fancied that the King's troops were coming, and left it.

Jan'y 26, 1784. Mr. Lutwyche Din'd with me and said. All the time while I was at Halifax I was for 6 months laid up by the Rheumatism, so that I could not straiten my Legs. I grew better when we came to Stadten Island. I grew better, and when the Rebels were gone, my curiosity prompted me to walk out for the first time with Mr. Leonard: and weak and lame as I was, I walk'd over this Ditch. He added, All that Montresor said in his evidence was false.

(N. B. How[e] had sign'd Montresor's Accounts, and altho he was worth nothing, as Maseres told me, while Montresor was at Quebec, yet he bro't home above £100,000. And gave 6000 for an unfinish'd house in Portman place, which would cost him 4000 more to finish and furnish it.) Mr. Leonard long ago when he was here gave me the same account of the Lines as Lutwyche did.

April 18, 1782 Colonel Fanning told me he was at the Battle of Long Island; And he confirm'd all that I had said [my account of] about the behaviour of the two Howes on that Day. C. Fanning also saw and confirm'd all which I have said of Lord Howe's Behaviour at Governors Island. N. B. This is a copy of a memorandum I made on April 18, 1782.¹

The following marginal note relates to the Captain Montresor above referred to, Sir William Howe's officer of engineers. Montresor gave evidence in Howe's favor in the course of the Parliamentary examination in 1779. His testimony, as reported, is curious and worthy of examination. In his advocacy of Sir William Howe he showed himself equally regardless of established fact or innate probability:

General Vaughan said in Sackville Street at Gov'r Hutchinson's that he was astonished at reading what Gentlemen had said at the bar of the House of Commons for he knew that they had said the direct contrary in America.

¹ [I am unable to identify Mauduit's informants. There was a Captain Thomas mentioned by Montresor in 1778, but he does not appear in the *Army List* of that year. It was probably Edward Goldstone Lutwyche, of New Hampshire, later agent in London for the province of New Brunswick. See *Winslow Papers* (New Brunswick Hist. Soc.), 428. Captain John Montresor is as well known as a capable engineer as Edmund Fanning is for his cruelty. W. C. F.]

Mr. Galloway told me he commonly lay in the same Tent with Montresor. Often heard him condemn How: and if Montresor w'd produce the Journal he kept, it w'd be found to condemn How's conduct more severely than Galloways Journal.¹ But S'r W'm Howe just before he left America, pass'd Capt'n Montresors accounts, and thereby enabled him to bring home £80 or 100,000.

The following is from a letter, written probably to Mauduit, from New York, dated December 16, 1777, printed (p. 86) as part of the eighth pamphlet in the first volume of the Collection, entitled "View of the Evidence Relative to the Conduct of the American War under Sir William Howe, Lord Viscount Howe, and General Burgoyne. Second Edition, London." This pamphlet appeared in 1779:

It is a unanimous sentiment here, that our misfortunes this campaign have arisen, not so much from the genius and valour of the rebels, as from the misconduct of a certain person.

Our Commander in chief seems not to have known, or to have forgotten, that there was such a thing as the North River; and that General Burgoyne, with his small army, would want support in his attempt to penetrate to Albany; as the inhabitants of that country were the most rugged and hardy, and the best accustomed to arms, of any of the Northern rebels.

If General Howe had been so happy for himself and his country as to have moved up the North River, instead of going to sea in the middle of the Campaign, all America could not have prevented the junction of our two armies; and that of General Burgoyne's would have been saved; and a strong line of communication from St. Lawrence to New York would have been formed by the lakes and posts on the North River, dividing the northern from the southern provinces. Had this been done, the rebellion would have been half over, even without a battle. But some people seem never to have looked at the map of America; or, if they did, they have proved to us they did not understand it.

Since Philadelphia was taken, General Howe has never been able to get out of sight of it; and the whole campaign appears to have been spent in taking that single town, which if we keep, will cost us an army to defend.

In truth, merely through misconduct, instead of our expected successes, we have met with nothing but misfortune and disgrace.

¹ [Some of those caustic comments will be found in New York Hist. Soc. *Collections*, 1881, 130 ff. Montresor's controversy with the Auditor's Office on his accounts is in the same volume, 534. W. C. F.]

The deserting Burgoyne has lost us 10,000 men and upwards, in regular troops, Canadians, and Indians, and in loyal subjects adjoining to Albany and the Lakes; and the glorious acquisition of Philadelphia, will cost us a garrison of 10,000 more, unless General Howe, while this rebellion lasts, means to protect that darling conquest with his whole army.

Whereas, if the communication had been formed by securing the North River and the Lakes, the operations of our army to the northward would have covered New York, Long Island, and Rhode Island, which would have enabled General Howe to take the field with at least 10,000 men more than he has been able to do in Pennsylvania.

In that case he would only have had the northern rebels to contend with; for Washington could not have passed the North River while the Eastern Banks were defended by our posts, and the whole river occupied by our armed ships, floating batteries, gun boats, and other craft. Then the taking of Connecticut, a small but fertile colony, and the storehouse of New England, would have ensured the conquest of the northern colonies. They must have thrown down their arms or starved; for I cannot suppose, that a body of militia could have defeated an English regular army, amounting at least to thirty thousand men, and as well appointed in every respect, as any army that ever took the field; and the men of that army, roused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm in the cause of Old England, and inspired with indignation against the rebels, for their multiplied acts of treachery and barbarity. But the spirit, the vigour, and the lives of many of our brave fellows in the main army, have been lost by pursuing the most ill advised measures, the carrying on the war from the Chesapeak bay and Philadelphia, places in which the rebels can bring their whole force against us, and where all the advantages we may gain can avail us nothing further than keeping possession of the ground on which our army encamps.

In fact, there is not a common soldier in the army but knows, that deserting the North River lost Burgoyne and his army; that his being fought down has given the rebels tenfold confidence, and thrown a gloom over the aspect of our affairs in America.

One of the more interesting pamphlets in the Mauduit Collection is that numbered 4, in the second volume, entitled "Historical Anecdotes Relative to the American Rebellion," London, 1779. This pamphlet contains a series of letters written from New York, apparently to either Mauduit or Galloway, or to other correspondents in London during the years 1777-78. The document is, of course, extremely rare,

and, beyond calling attention to it, I now propose to submit certain extracts bearing directly on statements made or conclusions reached in my papers in the May and October *Proceedings*.

The first extract is from a letter dated at New York, January 26, 1778. It does not appear to whom it was addressed. In it the general situation at the close of the Campaign of 1777 is passed in review, General Howe, with the British army, being then in Philadelphia, and the Patriot army in its Valley Forge winter quarters:

The Northern [Burgoyne's] Army is as it were annihilated; and General Howe snug in Philadelphia; while Washington keeps possession of the country. — Can there be a more preposterous piece of conduct, than to suffer the Rebel Army to range uncontrolled, and to content ourselves with the capture of a few Towns, which would be ours of course if that Army were destroyed? It has, more than once, been in our power to have done it effectually. This the Rebels themselves acknowledge. But those glorious opportunities have been neglected, and the war protracted at the hazard of ruining the Country; which nothing can prevent, but a Change of Men and Measures.

Whether our present Chief blunders through want of capacity, or by design, I will not pretend to determine; but so frequent and so gross have those blunders been, that the Rebels in a good measure build their hopes upon them. Their common daily toast, I am told, is, "May General Howe continue in command." A member of Congress, early last Summer, told a Lady of your acquaintance, who lives between New York and Albany, and was expressing her apprehensions of what might happen on General Howe's marching that way to meet Burgoyne, "That she need give herself no uneasiness upon that score; for he could venture to assure her, that He would not take that Route." Being asked his reason for thinking so, he replied, "Because it was the very thing he ought to do," And the event has justified his assertion. He continued in Jersey, at the head of the finest Army in the world, with Washington at his elbow, whom he suffered to remain quite easy and unmolested, till half the season of Action was over; then, gently took wing — coasted along the Atlantic — looked into the Delaware — wheeled about — took a circuit into Chesapeak-Bay, — and, after six weeks diversion of that kind — landed at the head of Elk, — from whence he fought his way to Philadelphia — had just Time to provide himself with winter-quarters, and so — ended the campaign. Bur-

goyne, with his small Army, after the most spirited exertions, was left to fall a Sacrifice; and the fair hopes which he had entertained, of the Eastern Governments making their submission, and of approaching Peace, vanished into nothing. — Common sense revolts at such conduct.¹

The following extract is taken from a letter dated New York, January 27, 1778:

It is said, and I confess with great appearance of truth, that they [the Howes] are both antiministerial men, and their minds poisoned by faction: That they have endeavoured by every means to spare the Rebellion, in order to give It and the Rebels an air of consequence at home; thereby intending to answer the manifold purposes of covering the General's inactivity and dilatory conduct; magnifying his military character in the eyes of the Nation, when he shall at last think proper to put an End to the war; giving time to several Favourites to make most enormous sums of money; and, in some measure, compelling Administration to save the Rebels and their Estates by treating with them, — contrary to the honour of the nation, contrary to justice and sound policy: That General Howe has made a wanton and cruel sacrifice of General Burgoyne to his jealousy of Burgoyne's superior abilities; that, for the same reason, he has endeavoured, by every means in his power, to thwart General Clinton, to the great disadvantage of his Majesty's service; that he is dissipated, and more attentive to his pleasures than to the business of the nation; that he is not really equal in capacity to so important a command; and that there can be no hopes of the Rebellion's being speedily extinguished, if He continue at the head of the Army.

However wrong some of these assertions may be, (if indeed they are at all wrong,) the following facts are unquestionable and undeniable; viz. That General Howe might, with the utmost ease, have destroyed Washington's Army, and thereby have put a total end to the Rebellion, at many different times, and most favourable opportunities, in the Autumn of 1776:— That he might most effectually have succoured General Burgoyne, without the least injury to any service he could propose to execute; and that he has most unaccountably and unexpectedly trifled away all the last year; having really done Nothing, at the head of the finest and most executive Army under Heaven, but take, or rather take possession of, Philadelphia; which, it is notorious, he might have done in April last, or indeed whenever he pleased, by marching with a few bat-

¹ *Historical Anecdotes*, 52.

talions from Brunswick, without giving himself or his troops the trouble, vexation, and disgrace, of retreating from thence to Staten-Island; there embarking, and remaining, so embarked, for three weeks, when the weather was hot in the extreme; and, after all, spending other three weeks, or a month, in sailing round to Chesapeake-Bay, and from thence marching to Philadelphia; exactly the same distance of road, as it was immediately from Brunswick to that city.

I have said that General Howe has done nothing but take possession of Philadelphia: I only mean by this, that he has not, as far as we know, done anything decisive. When the Army left the Jerseys, it was pretended, that the General, unwilling to risk the loss of two or three thousand brave men, had determined not to attack Washington in his almost inaccessible camp, but had fallen on another mode of doing the business almost as effectually, without so much hazard. — The Army, and everybody else, understood by this, that Mr. Howe intended to get round Washington; cut off his retreat Westward or Southward; attack him from behind the mountains, where it was said to be more practicable; or, if he should abandon those strongholds, then to pursue him with unabating vigour, till his whole army should be either destroyed or dispersed. But we cannot learn that this has been the case; or that anything more has been done than defeating Detachments, that had been sent out by Washington to annoy the King's troops; notwithstanding it is currently reported by the Military, that the Rebels might easily have been come at and annihilated, in spite of the Numbers which they boast of. — "But was it not absolutely necessary to open a communication by the Delaware? And might not the reduction of Mud-Island and Red-Bank Forts unavoidably detain the Army?" — The opening the Delaware was undoubtedly necessary; but as that business chiefly belonged to the Shipping, it needed not to have impeded the operations of the whole Army. — These facts, therefore, thus stated, being plain, intelligible, and I believe incontestable either here or on your side of the water, surely stand in need of no comment. The most candid angel, I think, cannot draw inferences from them much in the General's favour.¹

The writer of these letters was beyond question strongly prejudiced against both Lord Howe and Sir William Howe. His statements must accordingly be received with the necessary allowance. Nevertheless, it is a curious fact that every assertion here made has been confirmed in the perspective of a century's historical revelations.

¹ *Historical Anecdotes*, 57.

The same may be said of the following from a letter dated New York, April 29, 1778:

The Colonists, beyond all doubt, are much distressed for necessities: their currency has almost lost its credit; and they are obliged to draft men in order to recruit their army. These circumstances, joined to a presumption that some sparks of affection to the parent-state are still alive, would induce one to conclude that they would be desirous of terminating the war on such advantageous terms, and so much seemingly to their reputation: But, on the other hand, those republican, independent Principles, which were the chief source and spring of the Rebellion, still continue in full vigour. — The Rebels are greatly flushed with their success against Burgoyne: the Congress, the Army, the several legislatures and posts of trust and profit in the different States, are mostly filled with violent men, of little property, and who therefore can hardly be supposed willing to relinquish their present state, and fall back into their original obscurity; not to mention a consciousness that they have offended past all hope of a cordial forgiveness on the side of Government. These are circumstances which do not promise any success to Negotiation, and which incline many judicious persons here to think, that those offers on the part of Great Britain will come to nothing. In this state of uncertainty are we at present. It is whispered here, that some of the officers who went home last winter, intimate friends of the late Commander in Chief, made such a terrible representation of the Powers and Resources of the Colonies, as frightened all England. But really, if this was the case, you were wretchedly imposed on. It may be convenient to magnify the State of the Rebels, in order to palliate the shameful conduct on our part. Washington has slumbered and slept in quiet, at the distance of 20 miles from Philadelphia, this whole winter, with no more than about 5000 men: Sir W. Howe had upwards of 16,000, as brave fellows, and as eager to engage, as ever took the field; yet he gave the former no interruption. The case was similar the preceding winter: with such management the Rebels might maintain the war against a British Army of 100,000 men, nay, of a million; yet I would pawn my head upon it, that 10,000 British Troops, even of those now here, under a proper Leader, — under Sir H. Clinton, — would march from one end of this Continent to the other, in spite of every effort the Rebels could make to stop their progress. I am not singular in this opinion; it is the general opinion. But it is needless to talk of these matters now: — Providence, I hope, will take care of us; — there lies my chief dependence. Sir Henry Clinton's appointment to the Chief Command gives uni-

versal joy to all the American Loyalists; and, so far as I can learn, to the Army. He is an excellent Officer, and I believe well-disposed to vindicate the injured Honour and Interest of his Country.¹

The next extract is from the examination of Joseph Galloway before the House of Commons. This is a pamphlet of eighty-five pages, and contains much matter of historical importance, the present copy being further enriched by Mauduit's marginal manuscript notes. I, of course, reproduce here only brief extracts. In this hearing Edmund Burke, then a member of the House of Commons, seems to have represented the two Howes. Perhaps it would be more correct to say he had taken their interests under his peculiar protection. Early in his evidence Mr. Galloway touched upon the plundering by the British Army in the course of the various campaigns. The following question was put to him:

Q. In what manner were the inhabitants treated by the British troops after they received their protections?

A. Many of them, by far too many, were plundered of their property while they had their written protections in their hands, or in their houses. — Friends to Government, and those disaffected to Government, shared the same fate in a great variety of instances.

Withdrew.

Again called in.

Q. Was that last answer given from your own knowledge?

A. From my own knowledge.

Q. By whom were such inhabitants plundered after they had received their protections?

A. By the British and Hessian troops.

Q. To your own knowledge?

A. I should be happy if the Committee would let me explain myself. — It may be expected, that I ought not to answer, to my own knowledge, unless I saw the fact committed. — That I did not, and yet I can assign such reasons, I think, as will justify me in saying — to my own knowledge. — The people plundered have come to me recently from the fact, with tears in their eyes, complaining that they were plundered of everything they had in the world, even of the pot to boil their victuals. — I myself drew a memorial to Sir William Howe, in behalf of a friend to Government, who had been plundered of many thousands in Madeira wine; — that memorial was presented, — the determination of it was referred to General

¹ *Historical Anecdotes*, 74.

Robertson, whether the person should be paid for the wine or not (the person was Mr. Sharp of New York). This was settled, and I have reason to know of many other memorials that were presented on the like occasions. — I have seen them before they were presented; — and as to the fact of the plunder, many affidavits were taken on that occasion by the enemies to Government, which affidavits were published throughout all America.*

To this Mauduit appends the following note:

Here Mr. Galloway was interrupted, and the proceedings were thrown into Disorder by Mr. Burk's intemperance. Mr. Galloway however did say the substance of what is now said in this note: but by reason of the Disorder of the house, the clerk omitted the setting it down: and this answer was not read over again to the witness, as was usually done. Sir Richard Sutton¹ had 50 more Questions to ask Mr. Galloway, which would have bro't many more things to Light: But, as the Session was expected to End every day, Lord North from an Excess of Candour would not permit him to go on with them, in order that he might give the two Howes time to cross-examine him if they chose it. Instead of which, the 2 Brothers, not daring to controvert anything, which Mr. Galloway had said, left him to Mr. Burke who imploy'd the whole day in diverting the attention of the house from S'r W'm How's affairs to the affairs of the Congress; and by asking all these foreign Questions, and then continually starting debates about the answers, and ordering Galloway to withdraw, he manifestly show'd that he meant only to spin out the time till the end of the Session, and prevent S'r Rich'd Sutton and others from asking him any more Questions.

A little further on in the hearings (p. 47), Mr. Burke suddenly injected the question: "Have you had your pardon?" referring evidently to the fact that Galloway had at one period belonged to the Patriot party and been a member of the Continental Congress. The record proceeds as follows:

A. I have not.

Here the witness was interrupted, and ordered to withdraw.

Again called in, and proceeds in his answer to the last question.

* Whoever wishes to be fully satisfied in respect to the indiscriminate plunder and wanton destruction of property committed by the British soldiery, in the county of West Chester, in the province of New York, and in the towns of Newark, Elizabeth-Town, Woodbridge, Brunswic, Kingston, Prince Town, and Trenton in New Jersey, are referred to the Pennsylvania Evening Posts of the 24th and 29th of April, 1st, 3d, and 10th of May 1777. — *Note in the pamphlet.* The extract will be found on p. 43 of the publication.

¹ [Member of Parliament from St. Albans, Hertfordshire. W. C. F.]

A. I did not apprehend, and I am perfectly conscious in my own mind, that I have never done anything that requires a pardon. I beg that I may have an opportunity, in a brief manner, of explaining my conduct in Congress — and then I will proceed to show that a pardon was denied, as unnecessary. — I went into Congress at the earnest solicitation of the Assembly of Pennsylvania. — I refused to go, unless they would send with me, as the rule of my conduct, instructions agreeable to my own mind; — they suffered me to draw up those instructions; — they were briefly, to state the rights and the grievances of America, and to propose a plan of amicable accommodation of the differences between Great Britain and the Colonies, and of a perpetual union; I speak now from the records of Pennsylvania, where these instructions are. Upon this ground, and with a heart full of loyalty to my Sovereign, I went into Congress, — and from that loyalty I never deviated in the least.

Mr. Mauduit appends to this the following marginal note:

Have you had your Pardon? Lord North, L'd Germain, the Attorney General, and all the ministers, were at this time gone to Council upon the Spanish Declaration. When Mr. Burk took the advantage of their absence to raise a debate of three hours, in order to hinder Mr. Galloway's examination from going on: or rather to sett aside his Evidence upon pretence that he had not had his pardon. But the Speaker at length put an end to it.¹

Further on in his examination (p. 70) is the following, bearing directly upon Sir William Howe's failure to follow up his successes both on Long Island and on the Brandywine:

Q. Had Sir William Howe a strong army with him?

A. I should think a very strong army, considering the force in opposition to him.* — The force in opposition to him at the battle of

¹ [Hutchinson notes in his *Diary*, under date June 18: "Last night, when Sir Ric'd Sutton was putting questions to Galloway, Burke stood up and asked if he was not a Member of the Congress? Galloway answered — 'Yes;' then followed — 'Have you had your pardon?' — the answer — 'No;' and as Galloway was giving a reason, viz. that he had been guilty of no offence but for his loyalty, was pronounced by the Congress a capital offender against the new States, there was a cry — 'Withdraw! withdraw!' and by means thereof two hours of the short remains of the session were spent, and all the charge which would have been bro't against Howe in that time avoided; and then Galloway was called to the Bar again." — *Diary and Letters*, II. 261. W. C. F.]

* The force of an army does not consist in numbers, so much as in military appointments and discipline. — The British army had the best appointments, and was composed of veterans, high-spirited and perfectly disciplined troops. —

Brandy Wine, did not consist of more than 15,000 men, the army and its attendants, including officers and all, save about 1000 militia, for whom they could not procure arms.

Q. How many of the King's loyal subjects joined the army of Sir William Howe on that march?

A. There were many came into the camp, and returned again to their habitations — I do not know of any that joined in arms — not one — nor was there any invitation for that purpose. — By Sir William Howe's declaration, which is before this Committee, he only requested the people to stay at home.

The final pamphlet in this volume is entitled "Letters to a Nobleman, on the Conduct of the War in the Middle Colonies." This pamphlet is by Galloway, and prefixed to it is a very excellent map of the field of operations on the Brandywine. The following extract from page 42 is of interest:

Instead of those measures which humanity and reason pointed out to win over his Majesty's deluded subjects to their duty, others, which could not fail to alienate their minds from his royal person and Government, were pursued, or suffered to be pursued. A Proclamation was indeed issued in his Majesty's name, promising protection to all the inhabitants who should come in and take the oaths of allegiance. Thousands came in wherever the army marched, and took the oath, but the Royal faith, pledged for their safety, was shamefully violated. The unhappy people, instead of receiving the protection promised, were plundered by the soldiery. Their wives and daughters were violently polluted by the lustful brutality of the lowest of mankind; and friends and foes indiscriminately met with the same barbarian treatment.

If the British General was indolent and neglectful in putting a stop to these cruelties, the Rebel Commander and the new States were not so in converting them to their own benefit. Every possible

The Rebel army was not only very badly appointed, but consisted of new raised undisciplined troops, commanded, for the most part, by officers unskilled in military knowledge. Hence we find, that the British troops have met with no difficulty in defeating them, however advantageously posted, and whenever they have been attacked. But in the five several complete defeats at Long Island, the White Plains, Quibble Town, Brandy Wine and German Town, there was no pursuit after victory. This important part of military policy, so essential to final success, was in every instance omitted; and the Rebel General, with the assistance of the Rebel States, suffered to collect and recruit his diminished army, to renew the appointments lost in battle, and to appear again in force in the field. Under a conduct so erroneous, what avail superior numbers, discipline, or appointments? Force, however great, is useless unless exerted, and victory is vain unless pursued. — *Note in the pamphlet.*

advantage was made of these enormities.* Affidavits were taken of the plunder, and of every rape. They were published in all their news-papers, to irritate and enrage the people against his Majesty and the British nation. The British soldiers were represented as a race of men more inhuman than savages. By these means, the minds of many were turned against the British Government, and many in desperation joined the rebel army. The force of the rebels was increased, the British weakened, and the humanity and glory of Britons received a disgraceful tarnish, which time can never efface.

However great these mischiefs might be in strengthening the force of the rebellion, they did not end here. The suffering of the soldiers to plunder, and commit other outrages, was a dangerous relaxation of discipline. It rendered them avaricious, neglectful of their duty, and disobedient to command. To this cause only the loss of Trentown, and all that train of heavy misfortunes which attended it, can be imputed; because, it is a fact, that Colonel Raille,¹ although he had sufficient notice of the enemy's approach, could not form his men, who, more attentive to the safety of their plunder than their duty, and engaged in putting horses to and loading their waggons, became deaf to all orders. In this state they were surrounded and taken.

The third volume of the Mauduit Collection contains, among other tracts, "The Examination of Witnesses in the House of Commons on the Conduct of Lord Howe and Sir William Howe," taken from the Parliamentary Debates for 1779.

This purports to be a verbatim report of the examinations of Lord Cornwallis and Major-General Grey, and others. The publication is, of course, familiar to all historians of that period, and free use has by them been made of it. I propose, therefore, here to reproduce certain statements made by witnesses bearing directly upon conclusions reached by me in the papers referred to.

The first is from the examination of General Robertson (p. 278), and relates to the outrages in way of plundering, etc., inflicted upon the inhabitants of the districts made the seat of

* See the affidavits proving the indiscriminate and wanton plunder committed by the soldiery in the provinces of New York and New Jersey, with a number of rapes perpetrated on the wives and daughters of the inhabitants, in the Pennsylvania Evening Post of the 24th and 29th of April — 1st, 3d, and 10th of May 1777. — *Note in the pamphlet.*

¹ Rahl.

war, and visited on those there living indiscriminately, whether Loyalist or Patriot:

Q. Did the troops plunder the inhabitants as they passed through that country?

A. There was a great deal of plundering.

Q. What effect had this on the minds of the people?

A. Naturally it would lose you friends and gain you enemies.

Q. Would it have been possible to have prevented the troops from plundering?

A. The commander in chief gave orders against it repeatedly. A number of officers who lately came into the country, and entertained a notion that Americans were enemies, perhaps did not take enough care to prevent soldiers from gratifying themselves at the expence of the people, so that plundering was very frequent.

The following further extract from General Robertson's evidence (p. 325) relates to the same topic:

Q. You have said there was a great deal of plundering; will you ascertain where and when?

A. The places where I first saw the effect of it was on Long Island; the next on New-York Island.

Q. Do you know of a great deal of plundering in any other part of the country?

A. It has been observed, that these are the only two places in which I accompanied the army; I have heard that in other places there has been a good deal of plunder committed.

Q. Will you explain the degree of plunder, within your own knowledge, on Long Island and York Island?

A. When I landed first, I found in all the farms, the poultry, cows, and farm stocked; when I passed sometime afterwards, I found nothing alive: these were some reasons that appeared publicly to me: I saw some men hanged, by Sir William Howe's orders, for plundering; and I have heard, that after Mr. Washington took the Hessians at Trenton, he restored to the inhabitants twenty-one waggon-loads of plunder, he had found among their baggage.

Q. Did you ever hear of any orders from the convention of New-York, for the inhabitants to drive off their cattle and stock?

A. I have seen such a publication.

Q. Did not Sir William Howe give repeated orders to prevent plundering.

A. I have said so.

Q. Do you know, or ever heard, that the Hessian troops were encouraged to go to America by the hopes of plunder?

A. I have heard say, that the Hessians, before they went away, were told that they were going to a country where they would have great plunder; but I don't say, that any Hessian officer ever made use of expressions of that sort.

Q. Do you believe that the Hessians looked on America as an enemy's country.

A. I believe so: the Hessians were ignorant of the people; when they saw these people in arms, it was natural for them, who did not know the people, to think they were enemies; people better informed, too much adopted the notion.

Q. From your experience of war in Europe, did you observe, that there was more plundering in America than there would have been by an army in an enemy's country in Europe?

A. The practice of armies in Europe is very different; some people in Europe would not let their army plunder, even in an enemy's country.

Q. Are you of opinion that Sir William Howe took every proper means to prevent plundering in his power?

A. I dare say, by Sir William Howe's orders, and by what I know of them, he wished to prevent it; and, I dare say, he took the means that occurred to him to do it.

Q. You have said, "A number of officers lately come into the country, and who entertained a notion that Americans were enemies, perhaps did not take enough of care to prevent soldiers from gratifying themselves at the expense of the people, so that plundering was very frequent:"—you will therefore explain what officers you meant, and what particular facts you alluded to?

A. I had been asked if I stopped plundering; I answered, "Yes": in order to account for that not happening in every other brigade, I said, that the officers, who had lately come into the country, had not the same sense that I had of the merits and dispositions of the people; and that it was from this want, that the commander in chief's orders were not carried into execution in every other brigade; the reflection was general and did not allude to any particular fact.

Q. Do you know of any particular instance, where the orders you allude to were disobeyed?

A. As often as plunder was committed the order was disobeyed.
Question repeated?

A. I don't know any other answer I can give; I should wish to satisfy every question that is asked; I don't know how to satisfy it more.

Q. From the evidence you have before given, can you say, that

any officers did not do their duty, in preventing plundering, agreeably to the general's orders?

A. I have no particular accusation against any officer.

Q. You have said, that in your own brigade, after your orders had been read to the soldiers, there was no more plundering by the soldiers of that brigade; how long did you command that brigade after the time you speak of?

A. Till the 16th of September, when I went to the command at New York.

Mr. FORD presented the following paper:

Mr. Adams has re-examined the strategy of 1777 in a new light, and presents the remarkable succession of strategical mistakes — if not blunders — committed by the commanders of the two armies.¹ While following his statement of facts I was led to look into a series of attacks upon the American service of Sir William Howe, and his brother Lord Howe, published in 1779, of which a number, issued anonymously, was attributed to the pen of Israel Mauduit, once agent of Massachusetts in England. In looking for copies of these issues I fell in with three volumes of tracts on this very subject in the library of this Society, and what gave them unique interest and historical value was the fact that they had belonged to Mauduit and contained many manuscript annotations by him and by another hand. The latter I could not at first identify, but the writer proved to be Joseph Galloway, the refugee from Pennsylvania. Such a collection deserved some study and notice, and I have prepared an account of them, which is appended to this paper. With such material before me, I was led into an attempt to trace Mauduit's writings and, incidentally, his connection with the parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the Howes. In making this excursion it seemed proper to show the effects in England of the campaigns of the Howes, and the course pursued by the King's government towards those two officers, as a supplement to Mr. Adams's two papers. The result follows.

On the evening of December 2, 1777, England was startled by the news that Burgoyne had surrendered his army to Gates. The first rumors were based upon unofficial intelligence, but the authentic despatches soon followed. The feeling of despon-

¹ Pp. 13-65, *supra*.

dency was temporary, and measures were taken for carrying on the war with increased vigor. The loss of an army from which so much had been expected could not but give rise to speculation upon the cause. And as time passed, and the situation in America and the relative positions of Howe's and Burgoyne's armies were better understood, a question of Howe's military capacity and fitness for his command became a matter of debate. Not a few good authorities had passed severe judgment upon his movement to the southward, when it was known in England. Dundas said he gave up all hope of success as soon as he learned that the main army had gone south. Sir James Wright condemned the move, as did many officers in America in letters that now began to be circulated in London. The more carefully military experts studied the situation, the more inexplicable did Howe's plan of operations become, and the more open and severe were the criticisms passed upon his judgment.

This hostile comment upon Howe was accompanied by an increasing amount of criticism on the Ministry. Most of this came from the Opposition, of which the Earl of Chatham was the titular leader. He denounced the "wanton temerity and ignorance of Ministers." Fox claimed that every measure undertaken by Germain had failed, and Barré believed that the minister who had planned the expedition should alone suffer for its failure. Burke indignantly rebuked Germain for his ignorance and foolish credulity. North invited an inquiry into the conduct of Germain, not doubting his acquittal of all blame. For himself, he had always wished for peace, and would gladly lay down his place and honors if by that means peace could be attained.¹

The Ministry faced an inquiry that could be most embarrassing, for Burgoyne's act must be met by an inquiry of some kind, and Burgoyne's story would furnish only one side of the disaster. To institute an inquiry into Burgoyne's expedition would inevitably lead to an inquiry into Howe's alleged negligence to co-operate with Burgoyne, and that investigation, if thorough, would involve the conduct of the war since Howe succeeded Gage, in the time of the siege of Boston. Nor could the political features be entirely separated from the military;

¹ *Parliamentary Register*, VIII. 104.

but to deal with the political aspects would raise questions or discover negotiations that might strengthen the colonies in rebellion. If the orders issued to Burgoyne were imperative, the person who framed those orders must account for them and their details, and Lord George Germain signed the orders and instructions. The King suggested that a Court of Inquiry would not be regular, but that all the generals of equal or superior rank to Burgoyne who had served in America should be assembled to consider the causes of the failure of the expedition. Some members of the Cabinet objecting to any inquiry, Germain did not think it wise to press the matter;¹ but a call for papers by the House was granted.

Early in January, 1778, rumors were current in London that Howe was to be recalled. What made the rumors the more significant was a story that some leading officers under him had announced their determination to demand their recall if he remained in command. The names of Clinton, Erskine, Grey and Leslie were mentioned as having sent such a demand, and they described the officers of the army as "universally discontented."² In official circles the tone of Germain's letters to Howe was recognized as foreshadowing a recall. D'Oyley, in Germain's office and warmly attached to the Howes, spoke to his chief upon the subject, but left an impression that required explanation. This the King asked of North, who thus reported:

That it was not only necessary to be determined whether the two brothers should continue in the command, but, if it should be determined that they are to continue, it will be requisite, after the letters that have been written to them, to consider how to persuade them to remain in their present situation. Mr. D'Oyley alluded to the last letters from Lord G. G., which were so cold and dry in respect to Sir W. H's successes in Pennsylvania, and left him in doubt as to his continuance in the command, which he thinks will have made him more fully bent upon quitting the

¹ Donne, *Correspondence of George III with Lord North*, II. 156.

² Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, II. 176. The rumors were undoubtedly exaggerated, yet evidence exists of the discontent and disapproval among the officers serving under Howe. Mauduit (p. 152, *infra*) hints that Grey was under such obligations to Howe as to neutralize the testimony he gave in Howe's favor. Trevelyan, Pt. III. 233, has given high praise to Grey.

command.¹ Mr. D'Oyley says that he never thought it would be either *unsafe* or *imprudent* to leave Lord Howe and Sir William Howe at the head of the fleet and army, but the contrary; and Lord North supposes that Lord George drew that inference from Mr. D'Oyley's expressions, which, as Mr. D'Oyley says, amounted to no more than this: That after the letters that had been written, it is necessary to consider how to persuade them to remain in the command, if it is intended that they should be continued in it.²

Germain, not a very estimable character himself, became distinctly hostile to Howe, and could not but foresee that in the approaching session of Parliament the question of responsibility for Howe's extraordinary conduct would be examined, and his own acts be subjected to unfriendly criticism. On January 20, 1778, Parliament met. The Ministry had taken steps to prepare for a contest by considering not only the question of a successor to Howe, but of a plan of campaign in America. The most competent military officer available, Lord Amherst, declined to accept the appointment. Clinton is said to have suggested Robertson, "that he [R.] might take all the care of the army, except fighting, and that he [C.] was his second: but this could not be, because R. was a younger officer."³

¹ Mauduit characterizes a letter from Germain to Howe full of terms of congratulation and compliment upon his supposed successes, as "one of D'Oyley's love letters."

² *Lord North to the King*, January 10, 1778, in *Donne*, II. 117.

³ Hutchinson, II. 176. He continues: "This connexion makes probable what is reported R. said when he heard H[owe] was gone to the southward instead of N. England — 'By G — he deserves to be hanged!'" But when Robertson came before the Committee of Inquiry his note was much subdued.

"Q. Do you think that the expedition to Philadelphia by Chesapeak-Bay, undertaken in July, 1777, was at that season of the year an advisable measure, considering the situation of the northern army when the fleet sailed from Sandy-Hook?

"A. I was not in the country when it happened. The commander in chief might have had a thousand reasons which I don't know, and therefore can form no judgment of the propriety of the measure.

"Q. Had you any opportunity of knowing the opinions of many of the officers in the army at New York, when you did arrive, on the propriety of that expedition, at that season of the year, and what appeared to you to be the prevailing opinion?

"A. I conversed with many officers on the subject; many of them feared, that General Burgoyne's army would be lost, if not supported. I wrote myself, on being informed of the situation of the different armies, to a gentleman in this House, telling him, that if General Burgoyne extricated himself from the difficulties he was surrounded with, that I thought future ages would have little occasion to talk of Hannibal and his escape.

"Q. Did you ever hear any officer in America express an opinion, that General

Then followed the very probable rumor that Clinton had written to Amherst that he would not serve under Howe, and that he would not wish to command the *débris* of Howe's army.

Two days after the meeting of Parliament Fox moved for the instructions to Howe and Burgoyne. The gates were opened to the attacks of the Opposition, who could hardly be said to be governed by patriotic motives in what they proposed to accomplish. To discredit the Ministers, to gain a temporary political advantage, constituted their program of opportunism, not a sincere desire so to organize the army in America as to reach a basis for favorable terms. North was pledged to bring in a measure of reconciliation, a pledge given against the advice of the King;¹ and what he now proposed — the Commission of 1778 — pleased nobody in England, and was certain to be rejected, even laughed at, in America.² The folly and weakness of every measure brought forward by the Ministry in the war, the weakness and inability with which military operations had been planned, the enormous expenditures made and the increasing difficulties of raising men and funds, and, finally, the growing certainty of a war with France, and possibly with Spain, constituted a solid foundation of criticism for the use

Howe's voyage to the southward was the most powerful diversion that he could have made in favor of the northern army?

"A. No. It was certainly a diversion, but could not be the most powerful. A movement to Albany would have been a more powerful diversion.

"Q. If, when General Howe embarked at Staten-Island for Philadelphia, a corps had been sent by sea to alarm the coasts of New England, what effect would such a measure have had in favour of General Burgoyne's operations?

"A. A threatened invasion naturally keeps people at home, especially militia, who may march or not, as they please." — *Parliamentary Register*, XIII. 281.

And on another day he was asked:

"Q. Had you been at New-York in July, 1777, and Sir William Howe, on the embarkation of his army, had asked your opinion, and at the same time had stated that he had received intelligence from General Burgoyne, of General Burgoyne's march from Ticonderoga towards the North River, would you have advised Sir William Howe to proceed with the army to the Chesapeake Bay?

"A. I should have been unacquainted still with the motives that Sir William Howe had for going to the Chesapeake, and therefore could not have weighed in my own mind the advantages and disadvantages of different expeditions.

"Q. Have you since heard any circumstances or motives that would have decided you to answer that question in the affirmative?

"A. I know a number of advantages that would have arisen from the one, but what advantages might have arisen from the other I can't say.

"Q. What do you mean by the one?

"A. I mean by going up the North River." — *Ib.* 312.

¹ Donne, II. 125.

² Hutchinson, II. 181, 182.

of the Opposition.¹ Facing such a situation, North wished to resign, and in tears begged the King to relieve him of office. Germain also threatened to retire,² but was persuaded to remain, and D'Oyley left or was put from his office, thus removing from official circles a strong influence in favor of the Howes. Their recall was determined upon, and Clinton was named as Sir William's successor. North carried his measure of conciliation, and both Howes were named in the Commission, on the chance of their still being in America when Carlisle, Eden and Johnstone should arrive. The brothers could hardly have taken a real part in the negotiations to be conducted by the Commission had they been aware of the low opinion generally entertained for them.³ "Never were men more universally condemned," wrote Hutchinson, "than the Howes. It is now said, two men of less capacity were not to be found."⁴

In this time North, in his despondency, again and again urged his resignation upon the King, who refused to accept it, as to lose North would mean a galling subjection to Chatham. Never had confidence in the administration been so low, and only the declaration of war with France and the death of Chatham enabled the North Ministry to continue in place. The Opposition brought forward motions upon particular points of the conduct of Administration, but the Commons voted them down, for the majority invariably rested on the side of power and patronage.

¹ *Marquis of Rockingham to Lord Chatham*, January 21, 1778. *Correspondence*, rv. 488.

² For a characteristic reason. He felt affronted because the King had bestowed upon Sir Guy Carleton the sinecure Government of Charlemont, as a reward for the past services of a very deserving officer. Mahon, *History*, vi. 219. He had other reasons to advance. "When I consider that this whole measure of conciliation, the choice of commissioners, etc., has been carried on not only without consulting me but without the smallest degree of communication, and when I reflect upon the Chancellor's [Bathurst] conduct towards me, which must have arisen from finding that he might without offence vent his ill-humor upon me, and in short, from various little circumstances, I cannot doubt but that my services are no longer acceptable." — *Germain to General Irwin*, February 3, 1778. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on Manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford Sackville*, I. 139.

³ In fact Sir William Howe never acted for one moment under this commission.

⁴ Hutchinson, II. 184. Sir William Howe expected to be removed; but Germain conveyed to him (February 4, 1778) the royal acquiescence in his request to resign his command if Clinton were in America. Bathurst, seeing this letter, "requested the King's permission to have my name no longer stand in the list of his confidential servants." Thurlow was named in his stead, June 3, 1778.

At this crisis Mauduit comes into notice. He had long been engaged in commerce, and had held the agency of Massachusetts while Hutchinson was governor of the Province. For his writings as a pamphleteer on the German war (1760-1761) he received the favorable notice of government, and it is said a pension for life. While agent for Massachusetts, he upheld Hutchinson, and wrote a not very able treatise on the charter history of the colony. The outbreak of the Revolution found him still supporting the royal officers in Boston, and naturally much opposed to the patriot side of the controversy. He held close and friendly relations with the American refugees in London, and from the Hutchinson *Diary* is learned about all that is known of his activity at this time.

He appeared in print in the very dark days of the North Ministry, when peace with the rebellious colonies was much discussed. Hutchinson on March 27, 1778, says: "Mauduit brought me in the evening a printed sheet of his own composing, in favour of declaring the Colonies independent. He appears to me to be employed by the Ministry. It is difficult to say how the people will receive it. If he has done the thing against his own judgment, it is something very different from his general character."¹ Welbore Ellis did not believe that North knew anything of it, and had no high opinion of Mauduit's judgment, though believing him to be an honest man. On the other hand, Sir James Wright had no doubt of its being inspired by the government, as he had heard the same language for some time. But, a peace measure being brought into Parliament, it met with opposition from Lord Chatham, who made his last speech upon that subject. The discussion of the matter was not renewed, and it is hardly probable that Mauduit's writing represented any ministerial view, but reflected the intention of the Opposition and expressed his own conclusions. After the vote in the House of Lords, Mauduit received

¹ *Diary and Letters*, II. 196. This broadside was printed in *Winnowings in American History*, Revolutionary Broad-sides, No. 1, with an introductory note by Paul Leicester Ford. The copy from which he took the text bore an endorsement, in a writing not identified, "Proof of what I have always believed, that L—d N—th was lukewarm in his endeavours to subdue the rebels." Arthur Lee fully believed that the "handbill" was written by Mauduit, under the direction of Lord North, and circulated through England by order of Administration. But Arthur Lee is a very good recorder of what he wanted to believe, and did not confine himself to facts.

some wiggling for his interference. "20th [April]. Sir H. Houghton called. He wonders at Mauduit's publication -- was at Mr. Jenkinson's when the thing was talked of. I did not think Jenkinson would have run to that extreme. Sir H. H. says he told Mauduit that he wondered at his handing about such a paper: and told him though Gov'r H[utchinson] might have done such a thing with better grace, yet he should have thought it officious in him to have dictated such a measure."¹

If this leaflet represented an indiscretion, Mauduit was not discouraged from entering upon a discussion which called out his most notable writing. He undertook to voice current opinion on the Howes and their failure to use their opportunities, to examine their conduct from the military point of view. From what source the inspiration came has never been determined, and it is reasonable to believe that he had no personal hostility to either brother. He might lay claim to some military knowledge, as he had written much on the Seven Years' War; but that alone will not explain why he was among the first, the most persistent and the most bitter of the critics of the Howes. With this hostile intention he wrote and published anonymously, *Remarks upon Gen. Howe's Account on Long Island, in the Extraordinary Gazette of October 10, 1776.*² The sequel does not give a very exalted opinion of Mauduit's courage. For Hutchinson notes:

5th [May]. Called on Mauduit at his Compting-house in Lime Street. Never saw him in such distress: opened himself with freedom: professed that when H[owe] arrives he shall be prosecuted for the Pamphlet he has published: has heard nothing suggested. I told him his nerves were effected: every mole-hill was a mountain: mentioned to him my lying awake whole nights in America, fearing I should be called to account in England for neglect of duty to the King at the time of the Confederacies -- at least, I concluded I should suffer much in my character for yielding to the demands of the people when my sons were in danger. He seemed relieved. The Bishop of Exeter asked me at Lambeth what ailed Mauduit? I had no suspicion this was his trouble."³

8th. Mauduit left alone, was in the horrors about his book. Dr. Apthorpe said he had read Mr. Mauduit's book with great pleasure. "My book?" [Mauduit loquitur.] "I don't own it: I beg you would say I disown it: how cruel is it ----" etc.

¹ *Diary and Letters*, II. 202.

² Pp. 155, 162, *infra*.

³ *Diary and Letters*, II. 203.

I — when the company was gone — told him he would put people upon making criminal what was not so, if he discovered such concern. “Oh! I did not know — would give 1000£ he had had nothing to do with it. What, if he should be called upon — must accept a challenge, or maybe, be sued in large damages.” It is the strangest conduct I ever saw in him. He attacked Mr. Pitt with ten times the acrimony. Nobody besides himself sees anything exceptionable.

9th. Mauduit in the evening, in a strange disturbed state of mind. I did what I could to quiet him, and endeavoured to dissuade him from a measure very prejudicial to him, and which, if he was less disturbed, he would not have thought lawful.

10th. I wrote to Mauduit. He called in the evening and thanked me.

14th. M[auduit] called in the evening. My letter on Sunday stopped him from doing what would have hurt him exceedingly. He said to me again, it was a good letter. I assured him if any man had offered me 500£ to suffer him to have done what he proposed, I would not have taken it.

We are left wholly in the dark as to what Mauduit intended to do, but his fear would indicate that he did not feel so well supported by authority as to be in a position to ignore the possible hostility of Howe. This does not exclude the idea of his writing by ministerial instruction, but it does narrow the influence to an individual member of the Ministry rather than to the Ministry collectively.

The chief actors and supposed delinquents were now on their way to England. Burgoyne arrived very unexpectedly in London on May 14, and the King refused to see him. A board of officers was appointed to examine into his conduct, but he had a more effective way of making known his own position. As a member of Parliament he took his seat,¹ and on May 23,

¹ On May 28 Wedderburn characteristically objected to Burgoyne's sitting in Parliament “whilst a prisoner.” So Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Smith, writing to William Eden at the time, said the Court of Inquiry would be found “nonsense, no general officers will ever try the prisoners of the Congress. They will not believe me, but a few days will clear it up. The House of Commons seem inclined to ask him questions, but surely this cannot go deep. His return is unwise, his conduct since reprehensible, and his situation truly disagreeable. What should be done is evident (sent back), but we are not in an age of sense or spirit, of palliatives and temporizing, yes, which will drown us all at last. . . . June 2d. In these ten days which have elapsed Burgoyne has been found not amenable to trial or enquiries. He flew to Parliament and there created much heat, disturbance, and trouble, all which have turned against him. He has taken the

when a member (Vyner) expressed a wish to ask him a question, Burgoyne replied that he would answer any question, and should even declare some things that would astonish everybody. Three days later Vyner moved for a committee to inquire into the convention of Saratoga, and Burgoyne, seconding the motion, gave an account of his own conduct. Such an act further displeased the King, who thought it "rather particular [peculiar?] that Mr. Burgoyne should wish to take a lead in Opposition at a season when his own situation seems to be so far from either pleasant or creditable."¹ As if to involve himself still deeper in the opinion of the Administration, Burgoyne printed the substance of his speech and gave it a wide distribution.² Parliament was prorogued June 3.

With Burgoyne, Mauduit had little or no concern, and he does not appear to have considered him even as a useful instrument in attacking Howe. The reason is not clear, unless it is assumed that Mauduit was in the pay of the Ministry, or of Germain, in which case he would follow their policy of ignoring the General and his demands for a hearing. Burgoyne's pamphlet was in circulation by June 22, when it caused much talk and speculation upon his future. On that day Hutchinson notes:

most hostile steps possible, and drew from Lord North very sharp, keen reproof; and from Mr. Solliciter Gen'l [Wedderburn] a doubt and almost a question upon his right of sitting in Parliament not being a free man." — *Stevens Facsimiles*, 513. In fact a board of five general officers decided that he could not be tried by court martial, till released from the terms of the convention. *Parliamentary Register*, XIII. 411. Burgoyne was ordered to return to America, but pleaded his ill health and went to Bath. Germain denied that he was the author of the order to return, but asserted that it was framed by the Cabinet, and upon the King's direction.

Burgoyne stated in Parliament, that "on his arrival he was cordially and friendly received by the American minister, until it was found that no temptation, however powerful and hazardous, however pregnant with danger, could allure him or frighten him from his fixed and immovable purpose, of vindicating his personal honor, which would of course call the conduct of ministers, particularly of the noble Lord [Germain], over-against him into question. From the instant this purpose was clearly understood, his character and fortunes were proscribed; and every measure was adopted most likely to compleat every species of ruin, and to prepare the public for the daily falsehoods and misrepresentations which were set forth in print, or conversations." — *Parliamentary Register*, XIII. 410.

¹ Donne, II. 198.

² *Substance of General Burgoyne's Speeches on Mr. Vyner's Motion, on the 26th of May; and upon Mr. Hartley's Motion on the 28th of May, 1778. With an Appendix containing General Washington's Letter to General Burgoyne.* London: J. Almon, 1778.

At Lord Townshend's. It is said that when Burgoyne arrived Charles F[ox] asked him his plan? To charge Howe with leaving him to be sacrificed. "If that's your plan we must forsake you: we are determined to support H[owe]." The next news — that Ministry is chargeable; and his speech in the H[ouse], and his new publication, are conformable to this account.¹

Howe reached London July 2, and was received at Court! Howe had made his peace with the King, while Burgoyne was an outcast. But Howe did not intend to be an instrument in the hands of Fox and the Opposition. In a long conversation with the King he declared very strongly that nothing should make either his brother or himself join the Opposition; but Lord Germain, and his secretaries Knox and Richard Cumberland, having loaded him with obloquy, he should be allowed some means of justifying himself.² Evidently Mauduit, if a tool of North, could not afford to attack Howe; but if he was a tool of Germain, he might run the risk on behalf of his patron. He must have been in a position to receive or have knowledge of the complaints against the Howes on the part of the subordinate officers in army and navy, and with a turn for newspaper contribution he served as a medium for communicating them to the public. Did Germain supply him with material from his department? The remarkable statement from Germain's letter to Irwin, quoted by Mr. Adams,³ is the only evidence available on Germain's early condemnation of Howe's southward movement, but it is on the line of Mauduit's attacks. After Mauduit's behavior in the face of Howe's return it is difficult to believe he would make further charges against Howe, unless he were well supported by some one person in high authority, and the circumstances point to Germain as that support.

Lord Howe and Johnstone reached London late in October,

¹ *Diary and Letters*, II. 210.

² Donne, II. 202. Smith reported to Eden the arrival of Howe, "which seems as inconsequential an event as any I ever met with or has happened. He wait[ed] on L'd G. [Germain] just before he went to Court with Strachey; he kissed the K: hand, did not require an audience, was going away, but was call'd to the Closett." The Howes in America were disposed to be hostile to Germain, as Lord Howe advised Galloway to express a disregard for them on his coming into England," as the best plea for obtaining favor from the American minister." — *Parliamentary Register*, XIII. 469.

³ P. 45, *supra*.

1778, and not a few days had passed when it was well known that the two men were at dagger's point, and Johnstone loudly laid the blame for the failure to reduce America to the Howes. The circle of American refugees who had settled in London kept in touch with the current gossip, and enjoyed not a few good sources of information. Hutchinson led in importance, but Sewall, Pepperrell, Flucker, Oliver, Auchmuty and others contributed unrest and dissatisfaction. Mauduit counted as a member of this coterie, and into it came Joseph Galloway, an able man, who had ruined his reputation in America by his moderation, his opposition to the measures of Congress, and his finally becoming a loyal subject of the King. This reputation he carried to England, where he hoped to find greater favor than had been accorded to him by the British generals when they sought his support and advice; but he came under a cloud. He had been a member of the Continental Congress, and had taken a prominent part in the first session, giving his adhesion to its measures. It was useless to protest his subsequent actions, his risking life and fortune for the King, and his honestly loyal intentions in sitting in the Congress, believing that he could direct its proceedings so as to favor the royal cause. The Ministry used him so far as he could give useful information, but both ministers and people refused to trust him. He became a bitter opponent of Howe, speaking freely of his oft repeated neglect to pursue an advantage, and giving instances of his persisting in a policy that the information at hand showed to be the worst possible. With Galloway and Johnstone active in criticism, material for a writer like Mauduit would not be wanting; and assuming one back of him ready and able to maintain his courage to the sticking point.

The times were full of rumor and of change. The quarrel between Keppel and Palliser had just been settled, an unfortunate incident for the navy.¹ Letters criticising Howe and the conduct of the war in America passed from hand to hand, and that ministers of the crown supplied some of this material did not decrease the weight of the criticism. From

¹ One instance of the amazing incapacity of those in power to judge of fitness may be found in this case of Palliser. When he was defeated in his attempt to discredit Keppel, and was himself discredited, it was proposed to give him the command of the fleet in North America, in place of Lord Howe, recalled! Donne, II. 226.

the coffee-houses these charges passed into the street, and from the street to the newspapers, whose license feared little interference from a prosecution for libel.¹ Hutchinson notes on January 12, 1779:

A well wrote but severe letter to Sir W. Howe in the P. Advertiser, undoubtedly by M[auduit]. He desired me some time ago, if I saw anything in the paper, and anybody suggested it to be his, to say I knew nothing of it. Indeed, I do not know anything of this, but from the style and sentiment.²

Howe thought the time had come to act, if only to put some check upon the freedom with which his own acts and those of his brother were treated in the public prints. Upon his motion the correspondence that passed between Germain and himself, from August, 1775, to November, 1778, was laid before the House.³ At this time the King and Minister were considering, not what should be done to Howe, but what could be done for him. "The only thing that could suit him would be a good government: Minorca would not do, for he is junior to the Lieut.-Governor; but Murray may be appointed Governor, and Howe Lieut.-Governor, which is equally good, or some one else appointed to the Lieut.-Government, who may vacate a Government for Sir W. Howe."⁴ As Lord Sandwich had proved no brilliant success in the Admiralty, Lord Howe stood in the line of succession, for the quarrel between Keppel and Palliser had put both out of running. But Howe demanded conditions which the King was unwilling to grant, and by March 9 the royal hand wrote to Lord North that "Lord Howe

¹ Yet Horne Tooke was tried in 1777 for libel in charging the troops employed against the Americans with murder. The libel was described as seditious, and as being "of and concerning his Majesty's government and the employment of his troops." The terms would cover Mauduit's activities.

² *Diary and Letters*, II. 239.

³ This motion was adopted February 17, 1779, and the papers were submitted by Thomas De Grey, under Secretary of State in the American Department, two days later, showing that the call had been expected and provided for. The *London Chronicle* of April 22-24 contained an advertisement of the "Howe Papers complete, and the Remainder of the Canada Papers," all published this day in Nos. 66, 67, 68 and 69 of the *Parliamentary Register*. Some previous numbers had also been filled with the Howe correspondence. This correspondence forms pp. 253-483 of the *Parliamentary Register*, XI. Mauduit's annotated copy is noted p. 144, *infra*.

⁴ Donne, II. 229.

may now be ranked in Opposition, and therefore I shall not say more on that head.”¹ A debate had occurred in the House on the previous day upon a motion of Fox on the state of the navy. In bringing forward the motion Fox had made some pointed, but not uncomplimentary allusions to Lord Howe, and Howe had been tempted into taking a part in the discussion. His position soon revealed itself in a veiled threat. “It was well known that administration and he had an affair to settle; that he had pledged himself to the House to bring on an inquiry into his and his brother’s conduct.”² The correspondence and papers had been called for; but he could say that,

he was deceived into this command; that he was deceived while he retained it; that, tired and disgusted, he desired permission to resign; that he would have returned as soon as he obtained leave, but he could not think of doing so while a superior enemy remained in the American seas; that as soon as Mr. Byron’s arrival removed that impediment, by giving a decided superiority to the British arms, he gladly embraced the first opportunity of returning to Europe; that, on the whole, his situation was such, that he had, in the first instance, been compelled to resign; and a thorough recollection of what he suffered, induced him to decline any risk of ever returning to a situation which might terminate in equal ill-treatment, mortification, and disgust. Such were his sentiments respecting the motives that induced him to resign the command in America; and such for declining any future service, so long as the present ministers remained in office; for past experience had sufficiently convinced him, that besides risking his honor and professional character, he could, under such counsels, render no essential service to his country.³

In thus speaking, he had taken an irrevocable step; Howe was to retire from the service.

On April 29 Sir William Howe made his defence to the House, the correspondence being now before the members.⁴ The repugnance of the ministers to make any declaration upon his conduct in America had driven him to call for these papers and insist upon an inquiry. North was opposed to granting an inquiry, and even after the preliminaries had been gone through,

¹ Donne, II. 240.

² *Parliamentary Register*, XII. 76. It is curious to find how often Lord Howe spoke in Parliament, for he had a reputation for taciturnity.

³ *Parliamentary Register*, XII. 77.

⁴ *Ib.* 319.

and Howe had made his defence, the minister discouraged the calling of witnesses and the opening of an inquiry that could satisfy no one, no matter what the event, and that must interrupt the King's ministers in planning and executing measures for the good of the country. Personal hostility to the Howes he was incapable of, but he had to bear the burden not only of his own ineffectiveness, but of the real incapacity of the American Secretary, Germain, and of the head of the navy, Sandwich, both of whom suffered from qualities that did not pertain to their offices in the Cabinet.¹ Unable, or unwilling, to enter into a defence of their conduct, and unable to make a change in the heads of those two great departments of administration, North could only strive to quiet criticism, to divert attack and to get along as best he could. To speak soft nothings about the Howes, to flatter mildly and in a spirit of propitiation, seemed to offer the easiest way out of his difficult position. Above all, if the assault of the Opposition should be directed not at the Howes, but through them at the Ministry, no question could arise on the proper course to pursue. If any sacrifice was to be made, the Ministers should not be the victims. The motion for an inquiry was negatived without a division, "in an awkward and undignified manner." On the next day the King wrote to North:

I am glad to find by Lord North's letter that the examining witnesses on the military conduct of Sir William Howe in North America hath been negatived, and that it is probable this business will not be farther agitated. My reasoning on this affair has proved false, for I imagined when once it had been brought before the House of Commons that Lord G. Germain would have thought his character had required its being fully canvassed, but to my great surprise on Wednesday I found him most anxious to put an end to it in any mode that could be the most expeditious.²

This situation could not remain unknown to the Opposition, who did not hesitate to assert that North was playing a game of politics, and a very unfair one. The loose expressions of approbation given to both the Howes could be only gall and

¹ Even the King said that Germain had "not been of use in his department, and nothing but the most meritorious services could have wiped off his former misfortunes." —Donne, II. 256.

² *Ib.* 246.

wormwood while the instruments of the Ministers were daily attacking the two brothers.

Were not the runners of administration, their tools and emissaries, in the House and out of it, constantly employed in this dirty, treacherous and insidious occupation? Were not a whole legion of newspaper writers and pamphleteers in constant ministerial pay, in order to effect this base purpose? For his part there was not a week but some scurrilous pamphlet, composed of a mixture of plausible reasoning, pompous expressions, misrepresentations, and artful invectives against the conduct of the commander in chief, was left at his house. The authors were known, and were known to be under the wing of government; paid and caressed, placed and pensioned by them; one in particular no less distinguished for his spirit of adventure, he meant a worthy northern baronet, who occasionally acted in the character of judge, historian, pamphleteer, and recruiting officer.¹ Such were the men, such were the affected language and insidious arts of administration. They basely endeavored to effect in private, what they dare not own in public. They heaped commendations in that House on the hon. commander in chief, while they exerted every effort by indirect means to disrobe him of his honor and reputation out of it; and permitted daily, without contradiction or even pretending to support their own opinions, accusations to be made against him, in the face of the nation.²

Exactly what happened is best shown in a letter written by Wedderburn to Eden on the day of the reversal in plan:

I wonder you did not feel what struck me so strongly to night. L. George had observed a profound silence about the conduct of Howe, no answers made to any of Howe's charges nor any attempt to attack him while the examination was open; that seeming to be closed, without any fresh provocation from Howe who had not said a word upon the motion of this day, L. George in answer to Burgoyne points a direct attack upon Howe in two Instances, both perhaps well founded. He complained on Friday that the Inquiry had been stopt without his being heard, tho we know it was his own choice, could one give countenance to that complaint by persisting after his speech to stop it. Was it certain that the small majority we had on Thursday have followed us after a direct charge against Howe upon those Points to which we had refused to hear his witness? Rigby's declaration made that more hazardous which I

¹ He probably means George Johnstone, though he was not a baronet.

² Thomas Townshend. *Parliamentary Register*, XII. 382.

had before thought very uncertain, but before he spoke the sensation I felt (by which one is very apt to calculate the opinion of the House) was that an attack from a Minister after the evidence rejected ought to open the Inquiry.

If L'd George had said the same things before the last Vote Howe and he will be upon equal terms and their different opinions would have given no very material reason against the resolution of Thursday. But after L. George had given a silent Vote for that question, an attack upon Howe upon a point not explained by any Letter necessarily opened the Inquiry. I advised L. North to take it up directly after Fox had spoken and to agree to call L'd Cornwallis. L'd George was averse to this, and the good Humour of L. North would not let him take that Line. But after Rigby's Speech I thought his Complaisance was become very dangerous, for it would have been a very unhandsome situation to have been beat or very hard run.

L. George is not more dissatisfied than I believe the Howes are, and I am persuaded the Business will end no worse for the Vote of this night.¹

Such a turn in affairs did not meet the desires of North or of the King, but it had been forced upon them by circumstances. The King wrote: "I owne I never thought the declarations through Lord Clarendon ought to have been so much relied on; and when once the papers were permitted to come before Parliament, and that to crown all Ld. Germain chose to bring a specific disapprobation of the landing at the head of Elk, it was impossible to resist the examining witnesses."²

The inquiry was well under way when a change appeared in the attitude of the Ministry. In laying before Parliament the correspondence between Howe and Germain, administration had done all that, from its point of view, could be expected of it. Were the questions limited to matters in that correspondence, the record would show what had been done; but to extend the inquiry into what had not been done, or into plans,

¹ *Wedderburn to Eden* [May 3, 1779]. *Stevens Facsimiles*, 996, where it is erroneously dated May 10, 1777.

² *Donne*, II. 248. Gibbon thought this change was brought about by "some of the strangest accidents (Lord George Germain's indiscretion, Rigby's boldness, etc.)." "Mr. Rigby and some others expect to set Howe in a bad light, and fell off from Lord North; or possibly Lord North himself did not care much if an enquiry should be made, provided it does not come from him." — *Hutchinson, Diary*, II. 256. In the Stopford-Sackville MSS. is a memorandum of questions to be used in the proposed inquiry, prepared by Germain.

opinions on the propriety of plans or on the execution of them, that could easily expand into an endless controversy. The House had decided to receive parole evidence, something apart from the papers before it, and the Ministers should have the opportunity to introduce parole evidence and to examine witnesses. The Ministry, and especially Germain, was on trial. As a body Administration had assured Parliament that the war was practicable, had asked and obtained means adequate to the attainment of the given object, but the issue had not been correspondent with the pledges given. The witnesses had thus far shown that the war was impracticable, the force in America inadequate, and the majority of the people there hostile to Great Britain. The fault lay either with the commanding generals or with the Ministry. No one, unless it were Germain, formally accused Howe of specific faults, but Howe did accuse Germain of neglecting his requisitions and denying him the force and equipment by which alone could victory be assured.

The examination had included only four witnesses — Cornwallis, Grey, Hammond and Montresor — without much result in obtaining real information,¹ when De Grey moved for the attendance of General Robertson, that he might testify on several points spoken to by the witnesses. This step was in favor of the Ministers. Edmund Burke "condemned this mode of proceeding as irregular and unfair; remarked that there were several precedent stages in the business in which such a proposition would have come with great propriety, if it had been accompanied with a fair, honest avowal, of proving the misconduct of the honorable general; but while Ministers affected in the most warm terms to applaud his military conduct, they were now, by a side wind, in a late stage of the examination, preparing to defeat and invalidate evidence which they affected to believe."

Burke proved a disturbing factor, as disturbing to his friends as to his opponents. A ready speaker and easily touched or aroused, seizing every opportunity for making a point against

¹ Of these witnesses Grey alone may be regarded as in a position to give good evidence. Cornwallis expected to return to America, and was not anxious to involve himself in disputes that could injure his standing or prospects; Hammond proved a most inconclusive witness, and Montresor was said to be under such heavy obligations to Sir William as to place him outside of impartiality.

the Ministry, he resorted to methods that proved his inconsistency as well as his zeal for his faction — party, it hardly deserved to be called. Demanding a full, open and free investigation of the Howes, he raised objection to the Ministry's proposal to summon additional witnesses. His point was well taken, that the Ministers had awakened late to a knowledge of what the inquiry might involve.

Ministers conscious of their incapacity and criminal neglect in conducting the American war, endeavored to stifle all enquiry; but when they found, complacent as the House was, and prompt as it had often been in its obedience to the mandate of the possessors of power, that there were some requests which bore the marks of guilt and insolence on the very face of them, they instantly change their plan. We fight best, said they, after a defeat. We have given repeated assurances to the general, that we think his conduct highly meritorious. We led him to believe, that no step would be taken on our part; and under that idea we know his evidence is nearly closed, and we will now call witnesses to the bar, to controvert every syllable that has been said there.¹

Burke had no following, and even the irregular support of Fox could not give the needed strength to influence the Parliament. The majority steadily voted for the Ministry, and the manner in which that majority was made explained the impotency of the Opposition.

With every government prepared to vote,
Save when, perhaps, on some important bill,
They know, by second sight, the royal will.
With loyal Denbigh hearing birds that sing,
Oppose the minister to please the King.²

The votes were bought as openly as were the pamphleteers.

The House decided to call the desired witnesses, and among them were named Joseph Galloway, Andrew Allen and Enoch Story. Burke again protested against obtaining testimony on the loyalty and sentiments of America, from a few refugees, pensioned and supported by the government, and a set of custom-house officers, whose very existence depended upon the profits of their places and employments. His protest

¹ *Parliamentary Register*, XIII. 65. See p. 114, *supra*, for a characteristic outbreak of Burke.

² *Rolliad* (21st ed.), 155.

carried no weight, and suddenly on May 18 the evidence for General Howe was closed.¹

Robertson was the first witness called by Germain, and the bluff outspoken Scotchman proved a star-witness on his side. For the first time in the proceedings a man not fearful of telling the truth so far as in him lay, and a keen observer, replied to questions without reservation. The examination, lasting three days, led him to express opinions upon matters not within his own experience, the "hypothetical question" giving him an opening to state his action under given conditions. By such means the severest condemnation of Sir William Howe's conduct of the war was developed.² The effect was not lost on Sir William, who charged that Robertson "had been questioned in such a manner as bore an apparent design of condemning every part of his conduct throughout the whole progress of the American war."³ At the same time it must be admitted that the "old and infirm" General raised more questions than he answered, and his excursions into matters of which he had no personal or immediate knowledge tended to lessen the value of his opinions. To him succeeded Galloway, a much discredited witness from the start, yet better able than any man as yet on the stand to speak of the fluctuating loyalty of the people in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

At this stage of the session, and while Galloway was still on the stand, the Marquis d'Almodovar, the Spanish ambassador, gave notice that he had received orders from his court immediately to withdraw from England — a declaration of war. So important an announcement, obliging the country to take stock of its means of conducting a war against both France and Spain, overshadowed the so-called inquiry into the American campaigns of the past. In fact, that inquiry had reached a state where it could be described as a struggle between Sir William Howe and Lord George Germain. Each protested that he was intent only on defending his own honor, and that he made no accusation against his opponent. Howe wished to ask further questions of Galloway, and to call a witness or two to

¹ *Parliamentary Register*, XIII. 101.

² His examination covers 103 pages of the *Parliamentary Register*. Germain complained that he could scarcely get an opportunity to question his own witness, so much were other gentlemen intent on examining him.

³ *Parliamentary Register*, XIII. 408.

answer what Galloway had declared at the bar of the House. The session was approaching to a close, and the members were anxious to get through the matters before them. But a majority decided to give another day to the American correspondence. On June 29 the order of the day was called, but Howe was not present. A member said, it was not fair to go into an examination of evidence in his absence, especially as such evidence related to his conduct, and moved to adjourn. The record is curt, "The motion was carried without any debate. Thus the committee expired."¹

On the next day Howe explained his absence, and begged Germain to clear his character by telling the House if he had anything to lay to the charge of himself and brother that would make it improper to employ them in the service of the country. Lord Howe was equally urgent to know why the King's Ministers had withdrawn their confidence from them. "If they had done anything that rendered them incapable of serving their country, or if he intended any future charge against them, he desired it might be declared; or if not, that all imputations might be wiped away, by his avowal that he had no accusation against them. While imputations rested on their characters unrefuted, it was not possible for them to enjoy the confidence of their country; it was not possible for them to act in its defence." It was the duty of Ministers to protect their officers to a certain extent, and not give ear to imputations suggested by inferiors, or leave them under suspicion affecting their honor. To teach that there was a surer road to favor than obedience to command, that the men should have in their eyes higher authorities than the general in command, would involve serious consequences to the country. Even in the cold outline of the debates the impassioned appeal of this usually cold and taciturn man makes itself felt.

"Lord George Germain did not speak."

Friends of the two men followed and expressed astonishment at the denial of justice. Dunning voiced the indignation that many felt. He "rose with astonishment, and should sit down with it, if the Minister for the American department remained silent." The Howes deserved the warmest praises of the country, and the Minister who should not acknowledge

¹ *Parliamentary Register*, XIII. 537.

this would deserve severe punishment, nor could the two offer their services to the country while the existing administration continued in office.

"Not one of the Ministers said a word."¹

In this dramatic manner the inquiry came to an end, without resulting in a single resolution upon any part of the business.² Party had won the day, and the Ministers, as the leaders of the party, had taken their victims. The Cabinet stood together in spite of the general knowledge of bickerings and differences among the members. The collective responsibility of the King's agents, and the individual irresponsibility of each agent, for matters transacted in his department, was a new principle; for it amounted in fact to an avowed irresponsibility, both individually and collectively. That this conspiracy of silence resulted from any previous agreement among the Ministers we have no proof; if it arose spontaneously upon the occasion, it was as effective as it was brutal and masterly.

It was before and during this inquiry that the activity of the pamphleteer was most aggressive, and the leading writers were members of the social circle that gathered at Governor Hutchinson's table. There they could compare notes, and there they could meet officers returning from America, who had known Hutchinson when he was at the head of the Massachusetts government, and who were inclined, in their discontent, to class the Howes with Gage, weak men, unwilling to deal harshly with the Americans, and at heart not over-anxious to close the war. Such sources of information were good, but required careful and intelligent sifting, to eliminate, or at least to reduce, the personal prejudice of the relators. In 1779 Mauduit produced his *Observations upon the Conduct of S—r W—m H—e at the White Plains*,³ and his *Strictures on the Phila-*

¹ *Parliamentary Register*, XIII. 539.

² "What would be the consequence, if a Minister, sure of a majority in the House of Commons, should resolve that there should be no speaking at all upon his side?" E. [Burke?] "He must soon go out. That has been tried; but it was found it would not do." — Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (Hill ed.), III. 235. The conversation took place more than a year before the application of silence in the case of the Howes.

³ The *Observations* were first advertised in the *London Chronicle* for April 27–29, price one shilling, or less than a week after the entire American correspondence (Burgoyne-Howe-Germain) was in the hands of the public; and it received notice in the *Monthly Review* for May, LX. 393.

delphia Mischianza. Both were printed by John Bew, who is suspected of ministerial connections. It was from his press that the forged letters of Washington issued in 1777.¹ The *Strictures* received the dubious compliment of being reprinted in Philadelphia by Francis Bailey. In the same year, 1779, Galloway, a more original critic because better acquainted with the seat of war, published his *Examination*, his *Letters to a Nobleman on the Conduct of the War in the Middle Colonies*,² — Sir William Howe being the “nobleman,” — and his *Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount H—e*,³ the last two pamphlets soon running into a second edition. A third and as yet unidentified backbiter, for they were all anonymous publications, gave to the public *Two Letters from Agricola to Sir William Howe*,⁴ annexing some “Political Observations,” in which the license of language was extreme. Still another issue, attributed to Robert Dallas, Jr., *Considerations upon the American Enquiry*, reached a second edition in October.⁵ Were not these same busy assailants of the reputations of general and admiral likely to have been responsible for the *View of the Evidence*,⁶ which covered wide territory in its criticisms of their conduct? In that pamphlet was given a collection of the fugitive pieces that were said to have occasioned the Parliamentary inquiry, the pin-pricks that compelled the brothers Howe to demand the investigation. Some of these pieces show as remarkable a familiarity with the actions of the brothers as a freedom in handling them in a hostile manner. Neither the Howes, nor Germain, nor Mauduit, nor Galloway would rest satisfied with the futile issue of that misbegotten inquiry, and so the attacks continued after the failure of the sessions. No account need be taken of the numerous newspaper com-

¹ See my *Spurious Letters attributed to Washington*, 10.

² Printed by J. Wilkie.

³ It was printed by G. Wilkie, and was advertised in the *London Chronicle* for November 23–25, together with the second edition of *Letters to a Nobleman*, and the *Examination of Joseph Galloway*. A review of the pamphlet is in the *Monthly Review*, December, LXI. 467.

⁴ Printed by J. Millidge, and reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, July, LXI. 67. The letters had appeared in the *Public Advertiser* in May and June.

⁵ Advertised in the *London Chronicle* for October 19–21, as printed by J. Wilkie, who, by the way, was also the printer of the *Chronicle* itself.

⁶ Printed by Richardson and Urquhart, and noticed in the *Monthly Review*, July, LXI. 70.

munications, of which examples are to be found in the Mauduit volumes.

In 1780 Galloway printed his *Examination*¹ before the Parliamentary inquiry, with explanatory notes; and also, his *Plain Truth: or a Letter to the Author of Dispassionate Thoughts on the American War*,² the "author" thus answered being Josiah Tucker. Stung into retort on his persecutors, Sir William Howe published, in 1780, his *Narrative*,³ being essentially the defence of his conduct made to the House of Commons on his return from America. He paid his respects to Galloway by adding some observations on the *Letters to a Nobleman*. He only stirred his critics to renewed endeavor. Galloway issued a *Reply to the Observations of Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe*.⁴ Leaving the general to Galloway, Mauduit turned his attention against the admiral, in *Three Letters to Lord Viscount Howe*.⁵ Some of those pamphlets will be found in the Mauduit volumes; but nothing could more clearly show the keen pursuit of the game and close analysis of the facts than the care with which Mauduit has annotated the margins, and called upon Galloway for his aid. In the New York Public Library there are other Mauduit pamphlets, with his annotations, as Mr. Eames informs me, belonging to the Bancroft collection, but I have not attempted to compare the two series. Certainly, not the least notable fact about the annotations in this library is that they so strongly bear out the opinion of the actions of the British and American generals which Mr. Adams has reached by an independent study of the military situation.

¹ Printed by J. Wilkie. The original issue, made in 1779, was noticed in the *Monthly Review*, July, LXI. 71. It was reprinted in 1855, with notes by Thomas Balch, by the Seventy-Six Society of Philadelphia.

² Printed by G. Wilkie.

³ H. Baldwin was the printer. Reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, October, LXIII. 307.

⁴ Printed by G. Wilkie. Reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, December, LXIII. 465.

⁵ Printed by G. Wilkie, and noticed in the *Monthly Review*, LXIII. 65. The reviewer states that those letters originally appeared in the *London Chronicle*. Early in 1779 had appeared a pamphlet probably prepared under the direction of Lord Howe, and intended to serve in his vindication against possible attempts of Sandwich to discredit him. It is entitled: *Candid and impartial Narrative of the Transactions of the Fleet under the Command of Lord Howe, from the Arrival of the Toulon Squadron on the Coast of America, to the Time of his Lordship's Departure for England. With Observations, by an Officer of the Fleet*. London: J. Almon. 1779. It reached a second edition in the same year.

THE MAUDUIT PAMPHLETS

VOLUME I

1. Clipping from London Evening Post, April 23, 1778, giving a letter from Samuel Kirk, a grocer in Nottingham, to General Howe, dated Nottingham, February 10, 1775, and Howe's reply, dated Queen-street, February 21, 1775. A prefatory note, calling attention to Howe's "duplicity," is signed "B." The Kirk letter was used in the pamphlet issued by Galloway, *Reply to the Observations of Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe*.
2. Parliamentary Debates, 1779.

Part of Volume XI. of the *Parliamentary Register*, beginning with p. 253 and extending to p. 480, and containing Sir William Howe's correspondence, as produced in the House of Commons. It is followed by a "Schedule" of this correspondence in four pages, numbered [1-4], which, in the volumes of the *Parliamentary Register* given to the Society by Josiah Quincy, in 1798, is bound between pp. 480-481 of Volume XIII, together with a folding sheet giving the "Distribution of the following British and Foreign Corps, under the command of his Excellency General Sir William Howe, K. B. New York, 8th May, 1777." These pages contain the following ms. annotations by Mauduit. What is taken from the printed text is in italics.

P. 257. *It has always appeared to me most adviseable to make Hudson's River the seat of war.* The plain good sense of this plan must occur to every man. Every Letter of Gen'l How acknowledges it, and the Secretaries Letters contain the King's orders to follow it.

P. 260. *And I would propose twenty battalions,* etc. Does not he himself here acknowledge that the junction of the two armies up and down the Hudsons River ought to be the primary object?

P. 261. *The accomplishment of the primary object,* etc. Here again he acknowledges that the opening the communication with Burgoign, was the primary object of the war.

And for the blockade of this harbour, etc. Why did he not do this when he left Boston? There was an Island every way fit for that purpose call'd Georges Island, in which 500 men, attended by one large and one smaller man of war, might have defied all the rebel Sea and Land Force, which then existed. There is another Island

in Boston Harbour, call'd Long Island, which would have answerd the same purpose.

Your Lordship having been pleased to say that the . . . American army . . . shall amount to twenty thousand. Instead of 20,000 he had 28,000 at White Plains. He here talks of opening the campaign in April; yet in 1778 he lay still at Philadelphia, and tells us that April is too soon to open the campaign in so much more southern a province.

P. 263. *Wasting away by disease and desertion, faster than we can recruit.* These are the very words of my Letter to Secretary Pownall sent from Wherwell just before this date.

Or some other place to the southward. Southward, not northward.

P. 264. *By the estimate No. 1.* He might have sent away the well affected Inhabitants first to Halifax, with a proper force to secure that place: and this would have greatly eas'd him when he did embark his army, and he might then have gone with it to Rhode Island.

We are not under the least apprehension of an attack. And yet he sufferd himself to be driven out of Boston, tho he had several days and several months notice of the Rebels design to possess themselves of Dorchester neck, which commanded the Harbour.

P. 265. *For the blockade of the harbour.* Why did he not do this, as he had more troops than he could well embark? and here he might have deposited the vast Ordnance and other Stores, which he left behind him at Boston.

P. 266. *The next object I would mention, is the taking hold of Rhode Island, etc.* Why did he not do this, instead of taking the whole army with him, to run the risk of starving at Halifax?

To obviate this real grievance, I would humbly, etc. A most absurd proposal. Neither would the men enlist; nor would any German state permit their men to go, without their own officers. The proposal for the drafts from the militia was equally absurd and impracticable.

P. 267. *To combat these armies, I apprehend, etc.* Did they ever oppose to him much above the half of that number?

I humbly apprehend the measure might be justified, as a distress to the enemy. A very just observation. Yet he left 50 Vessels, and great quantities of goods behind him at Boston.

P. 280. *As to horses, waggons, and harness.* The Farmers of Long Island valued themselves upon the goodness of their horses. How had possession of that Island, and Howe might have been supplyd with all he wanted, if they had not been cheated of the money which was promised to be paid to them for their cattle, which upon the faith of Howe's declaration they bro't to the Royal Army.

P. 281. *I am also to request your Lordship will be pleased*, etc. Did he form any one Siege during the war; except only the ridiculous one of a Redoubt in the Lines at Long Island? Or the more absurdly managed one at Mud Island, or rather Red Bank, which Mr. Galloway at last was forced to effect, by mending up the Dykes of the Delaware (which the Rebels had cutt thro') and thereby draining the land for the troops to approach.

P. 282. *As the enemy will feel more immediate distress*, etc. Here again he allows that the most vulnerable part is up the Hudsons River: yet he never took that measure, but the direct contrary, by losing the Summer at Sea in a 6 weeks Voyage to Chesapeake.

P. 285. [against the first two paragraphs,] Very well judg'd.

P. 289. *In the consideration of the means*, etc. Did he take any of these measures when he was in possession of the Jerseys?

By seizing the persons and effects, etc. Did he do this in the Jerseys, or in Pensilvania?

P. 290. *Every species of reward*, etc. Are not these so many obvious directions for him to follow when he became possess'd of York, the Jerseys and Pensilvania. Yet far from conciliating and forming the well-affected into Corps, for the maintenance of the Country; his men and even his Generals (Colonels) indiscriminately plundered all.

P. 293. *The rebel army will have full time to entrench*, etc. Did he take care, by the least expedition, to prevent the Rebels entrenching at White plains? On the contrary did he not, by his delays in landing at Frogsneck, allow them time to entrench?

I beg leave to remark, that with a proper army of 20,000 men. Lord George furnishd him with 28,000 men; and yet he did nothing.

P. 294. *From what I can learn of the designs of the leaders*, etc. And yet from his manner of marching up to them, and halting, when he was come up, he invariably gave them leave to go off without fighting.

P. 299. *Without the least molestation from the rebels.* Governm't here little tho't, that he owed this want of molestation to a clandestine capitulation, which he meanly permitted and connived at, between the Selectmen of Boston and Washington: by which it was agreed, that Howe should not hurt the town: and upon that Condition Washington was to suffer him to go off without Molestation. The man who was sent out to make this private treaty is now in London. And it was a well known fact in the Town. (Mr. Johonnot was the man, with Mr. Emery.) He came back from Washington and told the Inhabitants: Well, there will be no more firing, and accordingly there was none. But with what contempt must Wash-

ington and the Bostoners, who were in the secret, look upon this Letter?¹

P. 301. *Halifax, though stripped of provisions*, etc. Did he want 8,000 men to defend the town of Halifax? The King's orders by Lord Dartmouth were to go [to] N. York. The reason he gives for disobeying them, is the want of Provisions. During all the time the Army had been at Boston, they had experienced the plenty of Provisions to be had at York and Long Island; but he himself tells us, that Halifax had been stript of them. So the want of Provisions determined him not to go to York, where there was plenty: but to go to Halifax, where there were none, and where the reader will find from his own Letters, they must have been starv'd, if they had not receiv'd an accidental supply. This his Reasoning is exactly similar to his assigning the prevalence of the north winds, as a reason for his beating up against them to Halifax, rather than sailing afore them to the southward: to York, or Long Island, or even Rhode Island.

P. 307. *But as the plan of augmentation, by incorporating*, etc. Both of them were very absurd proposals.

P. 308. *That a great part of the service for which waggons*, etc. Still supposing that he was to act upon the Hudsons River.

P. 309. *Lieutenant Bourmaster's behaviour does him great credit*, etc. Every one of his Requisitions, that was practicable, was comply'd with.

P. 311. *I am also informed, that the rebels are fortifying Rhode Island*. This proves how easily he might have gone thither the 14 March [1776.]

P. 312. *In this disposition, it is probable that their leaders*, etc. And yet he never did desire it, nor even sought it, but on the Contrary always took care to leave to the Rebels a way open to avoid a Battle.

Without exposing themselves to any decisive stroke. Which in spite of this his own conviction, he constantly allow'd them time to do. And by making it the Invariable Rule of his conduct. Whenever he sufferd his troops to beat the Rebels out of one fortified camp, never to permit them to pursue, but always to give them sufficient Time to fortify themselves in another, makes it impossible for us not to see, that his thus continuing on the Rebellion did not proceed from a want of Knowledge, but the want of Will to put an end to it.

P. 314. *But I tremble, when I think of our present state of pro-*

¹ See Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*, 303. It was Peter Johonnot and Thomas and Jonathan Amory who went out. No treaty or agreement was made, Washington taking no notice of so informal an embassy.

visions. This was the place to which he says in his Narrative he carried his Army for refreshments.

P. 321. The army from Boston and still left at Halifax 8,000; first Hessians, 8,200; Guards, 1,098; highlanders, 3466; 2d Hessians, 4,000; Clinton, 3,000; the 66 regt., 400; Rogers and Provincials, 500; [total], 28,664: [less] 450 taken, 28,214. He afterwards makes the Provincials 2,000, and next campaign, he states them at 3,000. Waldeckers, one Regim't; Light Dragoons, 2 Regts. 888.¹

P. 325. *Have made an earlier removal impracticable*. Very different from his former Letter, and always seeking delays.

P. 326. *When General Clinton joins the army*. Did he prosecute any measure immediately?

P. 331. *I am still of opinion, that peace will not be restored in America until the rebel army is defeated*. And therefore he took care never to defeat them: but always kept back his troops in the midst of Victory; and let the rebels go quietly off.

P. 339. *The provincial corps already raised*. These Provincial corps being so large as to require a paymaster general must be added to the 28,000 men, and being 2,000 make his whole force 30,000 men.

P. 340. *I would humbly propose an augmentation of 800 men*. A very strange determination for him to sett out with, with all that force which had been sent to him.

P. 347. *I look upon the further progress of this army for the campaign, to be rather precarious*. A very strange resolution at a time when the very best season for a campaign was yet to come. What had he to risk? or why fear a check, when he was so strong, and in full success; and the enemy flying before him? unless he was unwilling to make an End of the war that Season.

P. 348. *Yet have I not the smallest prospect of finishing the contest this campaign*. The same tardy Resolution. Even without this additional number of seamen, he had landed his army in Long Island in 2½ hours and beside his flatt bottom boats he could always command the boats and seamen of the man of war and Transports. How much more then could he have landed in the Delaware in as little time, when he had the additional ships and seamen. But in truth all this was only a contrivance to increase Lord Howe's Command.

P. 349. *The second division of the Hessians, etc*. Here was an addition of four more men of war with their Boats.

P. 351. *I am to inform you, that orders will be sent to Lord Howe to make enquiries into that matter*. Yet he did nothing and continued the captain in his Command.

P. 357. *All these motions plainly indicating the enemy's design*,

¹ This annotation is not by Mauduit.

etc. But pursuing and destroying the whole army would have been of the last consequence.¹

P. 361. *In consequence of my expectation that Lord Cornwallis, etc.* Was not that another reason for his ordering L'd Cornwallis to push on and rout the enemy, and preserve the country: instead of sending to stop him 5 days at Brunswick, to give the rebels time to pass over the Delaware. And, if they had so pleas'd, he gave them 5 days to ravage the Country between Brunswick and Trenton.

P. 362. *By the best information from the northward, etc.* What a fix'd determination not to finish the war in one campaign.

All these impracticable demands seem made only to found on them an excuse for his doing nothing and then laying the blame upon the ministry at home.²

P. 366. This is one of D'Oyly's Love Letters.³

P. 369. When a Gentleman gives but one Reason for an action, that may have been his real reason, tho it should be a weak one. But when not content with that, he adds another, which is inconsistent with his former, we may justly presume that neither is the true one.

If the breaking a part of the Bridge rendered the Rariton impassable, there was no need of saying he had orders to go no farther. If the orders were positive to pursue no farther, there was no need of telling us that the Bridge was broke.

The truth is the broken part of the Bridge could easily have been repaired by the time his Rearguard came up; and beside that, the Rariton was probably above and below the Bridge. Mr. ⁴ told me that he had often crossd it below the Bridge in his one horse Chaise.

If the General had wishd to have had the Rebel Army destroyd, he would have sent over a body of men from Staten Island to Amboy, who would have possessd themselves of the Rebel Magazines at Brunswick long before the Rebels could get there, and would have effectually stopd their Retreat. But the Destruction of Washington and his Army would have finishd the war that Campaign; whereas the General (we see in his Letters) had promised himself another. And therefore he neither sent over troops to Amboy to stop 'em in their Flight before they came to Brunswick, nor would suffer them to be *cut to pieces* after they were got thither: but gave positive orders that they should be pursued no farther. General

¹ This marginal note does not appear to relate to any particular sentence on that page.

² This refers to what is on the whole page.

³ Refers to letter from Germain to Sir William Howe, October 18, 1776.

⁴ Blank in the MS.

Vaughan, when he was in England, related that while they were upon their March in Brunswick, he, Vaughan, said to Lord Cornwallis, your Lordship will pursue them beyond Brunswick. Upon which Lord Cornwallis shook his head and answered No, I am ordered not to go any farther.¹ They could not then know that the Bridge was broke.

P. 370. *I cannot too much commend Lord Cornwallis.* Surely this must have been in taking care never to come up with them. From fort Lee to Brunswick is forty mile, and he was from the 17th Nov'r to the 1st of Dec'r in marching that 40 miles.

P. 371. *The arrangement I would humbly propose,* etc. Had he left even those 3000 men to act upon the North River it might have saved Burgoign.

P. 372. *We must not look for the northern army to reach Albany,* etc. Does not this plainly shew, that he knew he was to cooperate with the northern army, when they did come down?

P. 373. *He mentioned to me a plan he had the honour of,* etc. A very absurd proposal. Would Dragoons submit to serve on foot on foot pay? Or would a regiment of foot be any better for their having Dragoon's pay?

P. 377. *I do not now see a prospect of terminating the war,* etc. Why our troops could not move as fast as they, the general has never expland. Or, if they could not, why this should be alledged as a reason for their not being able to fight them, is inconceivable. The Rebels always staid for them.

P. 378. *Concluding upon the certainty,* etc. Thus demanding impossibilities, in order to have a pretence for Lengthening the war.

P. 379. *Major General Robertson, who will have* etc. How himself tells us, they had but 15,000 men, with the help of the Militia, at Brandywine, which was the largest army Washington ever had; and two months before Washington had but 6,000 men at Boundbrook. And yet How run away from him with 18,000 men to Amboy, and lost 3 months in going round to meet him, in a stronger camp at Brandywine, with 15,000 men.

And honour me with his Majesty's commands upon it. Page 411 you will see this his complaint redressd, and then he grumbles at that very redress as another hardship.

P. 381. *The advantages which you have hitherto gained on the rebels have been rapid.* Surely he banters him, when he talks of RAPID. The D. of Marlborough after the Battle of Ramillies did ten times as much. But the truth is, these are D'Oyly's Letters, flattering his friend How. And Lord George must have quarrelld with them both if he had refused to sign them.

¹ See under No. 5 in this volume of pamphlets.

D'Oyley afterwards actually did give up, upon Lord George's refusing to sign a letter of his, approving the Voyage up the Chesapeake; and no doubt wrote to Howe that L'd George had so refused; upon which How wrote home desiring to be recall'd.

P. 382. *It was a great mortification to me, etc.* Is not this plainly telling him that he was to have a Regard to the Northern Army?

P. 383. *I have great reason to believe, that Dr. Franklin will not be able to procure them any open assistance.* Nobody could have procured them open assistance but Howe, by sacrificing Burgoigne in his Voyage to Chesapeake.

It would be impossible to procure for you . . . the horses, etc. Horses enough might have been procur'd in Long Island, if he had not suffer'd the farmers to be cheated of their money promised for their cattle, which they brought in upon his first coming there in 1776.

P. 385. *I have unavoidably received infinite satisfaction, etc.* Where is the want of Confidence, which he complain'd of, and gave as a reason for his resigning?

P. 387. *Had it been expedient to have sent, etc.* Did the Rebels import horses from Europe? No. They found them upon the spott, and so might the General at Long Island, where are the best horses in America. The farmers there valued themselves upon the goodness of their horses, and he might have had enough for his money if they had not been so grossly cheated as they were.

The Provincial troops I propose to employ, etc. Yet he did nothing upon the Hudsons River.

Washington's principal force at Bound Brook was but 6000 men; and Sterling's corps at Prince Town but 2,000. These 2,000 ran across the Delaware as soon as How advanced to Brunswick: yet How instead of fighting Washington, or crossing the Delaware, and seizing all the Enemies Magazines at Philadelphia, to prevent which he must have come down from the hill he was encamped on, and given How an opportunity to fight upon equal terms; instead, I say, of fighting Washington, he seems to be apprehensive even of danger in flying with an army of 18,000 men, from his Enemy's vicinity, who had only 6,000, and who actually pursued him to Amboy, and to the great Indignation of his soldiers, insulted his Rear.

He was full three months in going by Sea to Philadelphia, when he might have gone thither from the Jerseys in three days. And yet he declines going thro' the Jerseys and crossing the Delaware upon account of the delay it might occasion.

P. 388. *However, as these operations have, from success, etc.* Were not the honest sailors of the Transports always ready with their boats to assist him? Never was an Army attended with so immense

a fleet: 90 ships of war, and 300 Transports. He had 100 Flatt bottom boats built on purpose to carry troops, beside which he had all the men of wars boats, and those of all the transports, without a single ship to oppose him. This was therefore only a pretence to increase his brother's command, and when they were sent, Lord Howe's creature, Hammond, makes the numerousness of his fleet a reason for their not venturing up the Delaware. See his Examination.

P. 389. *Having but little expectation that I shall be able*, etc. Out of 35,000 men. Yet he received the news of their coming before he left New York: and yet persisted in his wild Voyage by sea, leaving Burgoign to his fate, and without making any diversion on the New England coasts, tho' he was expressly ordered to do it.

I shall probably be in Pensilvania, etc. Was he in Pensilvania at that time? No, if he had been Washington could have detach'd no troops to Gates. But he took care to be at sea the 3d day after he heard that Burgoign was coming.

It will prove no difficult task to reduce the most rebellious, etc. Why did he not do this, instead of taking 24 ships of war up the Elk (Chesapeak), where never 20 gun ship was before? and where there was no Enemy to oppose him.

P. 390. *Distribution of His Majesty's troops*. He had more force than this: and yet left only 3200 men with Clinton at New York; that he might be sure of his doing nothing upon the Hudsons River to assist Burgoign.

P. 391. *Captain Mulcaster being a very intelligent officer*. That is to provide for his own partisans by promoting them to be general officers, as he rais'd Gray from a Lieutenant Colonel upon half-pay to a Lieutenant General, and thereby secured him for a willing witness in his Examination.¹

P. 394. *And here I must observe*, etc. Why did he not put the Country, where Capt. Philips was murderd, under military Execution; which would have prevented attempts of like kind?²

P. 398. *By various accounts received from the neighbourhood*, etc. Had he not then reason to expect them before September? Yet he went off to sea, when he knew they were coming, and left them to their Fate.

P. 399. *The remount horses, for the 16th*, etc. Yet he still resolv'd that Gen. Clinton should not have a force at New York sufficient to do any thing.

¹ Grey was a colonel in the regular force on March 4, 1777, and a Major-General in the American force from the same date. He received a commission of Major-General in the regular force August 29, 1777.

² Josiah Philips? See *Jefferson to Girardin*, March 12, 1815.

I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship of the arrival of Major-General Gray. Gen'l Gray, therefore, tho' he could witness so much, yet could know but little: having seen only one campaign, and three months of that at sea.

P. 408. *The first division, under the command of Lord Cornwallis,* etc. That is, with an army of 15,000 men, he did not chuse to attack an army of 6,000: altho' he might have marchd round them and come down upon them from higher Ground.

P. 410. *On the 30th, at ten o'clock in the forenoon,* etc. So that his army passd here in four hours. Yet S'r Andrew Hammond said they could not land at the Delaware under a whole day. See his examination. The transports could come close up to the wharf at Newcastle, and instantly have landed with the utmost ease.

P. 411. *That it seems only intended to take place when the two armies absolutely join.* He seems averse to the thought of Burgoign's joining him. In page 379 he complain'd of this as a Hardship: and now he speaks of the redress of it as another hardship. See page 379.

What a wretch must Burgoign be, to take the part of this man, who took so much pains to ruin him?

P. 412. *The instructions I have taken the liberty,* etc. Still determined that he should not succour Burgoign.

P. 415. *On the other hand, if General Washington should march,* etc. He does not doubt but that Burgoign, with 8,000 men, could fight Washington: and yet he himself, with 18,000 men, did not chuse to fight him, but even apprehended danger from the Vicinity of the Enemy, even in running away from him, when he withdrew from the Jerseys.

P. 416. *I cannot but hope that the dragoons,* etc. Every one of these horses, if they had been sent him, would probably have been killd or disabled in the long Voyage to Chesapeak. All the horses he had were ruind: and most of them starvd and thrown into the Sea.

As you must, from your situation and military skill, etc. The copy of How's Letter to Carlton of the 5 April, had been receivd by his Majesty the 8th of May: and yet that Letter (we here see) was not at all understood to supersede those constant orders he was under to cooperate with Burgoign. And therefore as he only tells Carlton that he should not be able to assist him in the beginning of the Campaign, the King now orders him not to let that beginning be too late: and whatever he did to be sure to be in time to cooperate with the Canadian Army. No man here could have conceivd, that his beginning of the Campaign should not have been till Sept'r.

P. 417. *If we may credit the accounts,* etc. He never took any course to secure either the Jerseys or Pensilvania, by disarming the disaffected and arming the Loyalists.

P. 418. *But that his Majesty trusts the operations*, etc. Here again are express orders for his cooperating with the northern army, but instead of obeying them, he hid his army in the ocean at the very time he should have done it.

By far the greater number deserted their dwellings, etc. For which these houses ought to have been burnt.

P. 419. *My last dispatches advised your Lordship*, etc. The troops embarkd the 5th and were left on board to the 23d, while he went to N. York.

Meeting with constant unfavourable winds. Before he sate out, he was told, that he must expect nothing but south and south west winds, at that season of the year.

P. 420. *The late signal success of a body of about 2000*, etc. All this mischief was done at the precise time Howe was hiding his army at sea, instead of obeying the King's constant orders, to co-operate with the northern army.

P. 422. *I am informed that General Gates arrived*, etc. If Howe had obey'd his orders to carry a warm alarm upon the coasts of New England, Gates and their troops could not have been detachd to Albany. Or if How had landed in the Delaware, as in common sense he ought to have done, none of these evils could have happend. Lord Howe sent his own creature, Hammond, up the Delaware, to bring him some Intelligence that should serve as a pretence for his not Landing. Hammonds story might be well enough framed to impose upon us here in England (of forts and Fire ships); but Lord Howe himself did not believe there was any danger in entering the Delaware: for he actually did enter it, six weeks after, without any hesitation, tho' the Rebels had then had so much more time to prepare their Forts and Fire ships.

P. 433. *The fatigues of a march exceeding 100 miles*, etc. He went there some 3000 miles by sea, and 100 miles by land, to get to Philadelphia; when he might have got to Philadelphia from the Jerseys, or have landed at Newcastle on the Delaware, and have got to Philadelphia by a march of only [*unfinished*] If he had but stood still in the Jerseys, that would have saved Burgoign: for Washington would not have detach'd Gates from his army, if he had not known, that How was lost at sea.

P. 447. *As you still continue to think*, etc. Every Requisition of his was complid with, which possibly could be so.

P. 452. *If on the contrary the troops should be withdrawn*, etc. Why did he not reason in this manner against his leaving the Jerseys?

From these considerations, and from the expediency, etc. Yet he never did any thing thro' all the months of April and May, tho' the Country was full of dry forage; and tho' the Enemys main Army

was but 4,000 men at Valley Forge, and his collected troops of 19,000 were kept only to grace his absurd Mischianza.

P. 456. *I considered it a duty I owed the King, the minister, etc.* The minister could mean none but Lord North.

P. 457. *Your Lordships expressions of approbation, etc.* What he says, page 436, and what he says here, plainly proves that by the Minister he meant Lord North; but upon his Return, the party telling him that L'd G. Germain was most assailable, he turned all his force against him.

The rebel army continues in the same situation, etc. 3,000 deserters came to Philadelphia in the course of the winter: and many without shoes, and with their feet cut with the Ice, or guarded with Raggs wrapped round their feet, to save their feet from being cutt.

P. 462. *In conjunction with the fleet, etc.* Why did he not do this?

P. 466. *I do not hesitate to confess to your Lordship, etc.* The futility of this reasoning was effectually provd two years after, when 3 or 400 Provincial Volunteers landed several times in Connecticut, and did this business with impunity, which he says could not be done with less than 4,000. And yet, even if 4000 men had been wanted, he had men and ships enough to imploy that number for two months together, before he open'd his campaign; but he never would trust any officer with a separate command, lest they should disgrace him, by doing something, while he did nothing. But he had no mind to hurt the Americans; and was still more determined against every Diversion to favour Burgoign.

P. 473. *Your Lordship may rest assured, etc.* Why then did he go to Skeenborough? General Skeen told me, that he never advised it.

2 a. Clipping from the *London Chronicle*, August 3, 1779,

signed T. P., criticising Howe's method of attacking at Bunkers-hill. It is signed "T. P.," but the pen has been run through the letters. Mauduit has given a ms. heading, "Reflection on the Action at Bunkershill." See No. 7 d in this volume, and No. 4 a in Volume II.

3. Remarks upon Gen. Howe's Account of his Proceedings on Long Island, in the Extraordinary Gazette of October 10, 1776. London: 1778.

This pamphlet of fifty-four pages was written by Mauduit, and reached a second edition in the same year. Mauduit's remarks run to p. 33, and the Gazette occupies the rest of the

pamphlet. There are some of Mauduit's ms. additions in this copy, and two pages of ms. follow, as printed on p. 105, *supra*. The ms. notes are given under No. 1 in Volume II—another copy of the same pamphlet.

4. Observations upon the conduct of S—r W——m H—e at the White Plains; as related in the Gazette of December 30, 1776. London: J. Bew, M.DCC.LXXIX.

This is also one of Mauduit's pamphlets, containing forty-four pages. The first eighteen pages are filled with the Gazette, and his comments begin on p. 19, running to p. 36, a "Postscript" completing the pamphlet. A map of the country near New York, engraved by John Lodge, has been inserted. It is without any marks showing its origin, but may have appeared in one of the London magazines of the day. See No. 7 in Volume II. This tract contains no ms. additions save a cross reference on p. 2 directing attention to p. 19.

4 a. Clipping from the *London Chronicle*, July 24, 1779, signed "A Correspondent." Mauduit has added "I. M.," thus acknowledging his authorship. He sharply criticises Howe for his conduct of operations at White Plains. The same signature is used on 5 b.

5. Strictures on the Philadelphia Mischianza or Triumph upon leaving America unconquered. With Extracts, containing the principal Part of a Letter, published in the "*American Crisis*." In order to shew how far the King's Enemies think his General deserving of Public Honors. . . . London: J. Bew. M.DCC.LXXIX.

This tract of forty-two pages is attributed to Mauduit. Pp. 16-29 are taken with an extract from Paine's *American Crisis*, No. V., addressed to General Sir W——m H—e, and a "Postscript" beginning with p. 33 and continuing to the end, reprints a letter printed in a London morning paper, December 11, 1778, signed "Cato." See No 3 in Volume II. This copy has three ms. notes by Mauduit, of which two are of interest. On p. 39 he says: "General Vaughan told the Company at Gov'r Hutchinson's, that in their march towards Brunswick, he ask'd Lord Cornwallis, whether he would not pursue the Rebels beyond Brunswick? Upon which Cornwallis shrug'd up his shoulders, and said: No, he had express orders to go no farther

than Brunswick." And on p. 41: "This letter was taken out of a French prize bro't into Glasgow. The writer is a Major Du Portail in the French Service, but a Brigadier general in the American Army. It is dated 11th Dec'r, 1777, while Mud Island was attack'd, but not taken, He says that if Washington's Army had been crush'd last year, there would have been no Rebellion, or it would have finishd the war. That the American's success was not owing to their strength, but to the astonishing Conduct of the British forces, and in another part the words are: to the Lenteur and Timidité of the British General." ¹

5 a. A MS. in an unknown hand, labelled by Mauduit "Mr. Daines Barrington," who is described in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as a lawyer, antiquary, and naturalist, the fourth son of John Shute, first Viscount Barrington. This MS. reads:

May the 14th [1778.]

By the returns from Philadelphia receiv'd six weeks ago S'r Wm. Howe had under his command nearly 33000 men, which were remarkably healthy: viz. 19,000 odd hundreds, *in their shoes* at Philadelphia; 10000 at New York; from 2 to 3000 in Rhode Island.

5 b. Clipping from the *London Chronicle*, July 20, 1779, signed "A Correspondent." Although Mauduit has not added his initials, the subject matter and the signature, used also in 4 a, indicate his authorship. He criticises the honors given to Howe in the *Mischianza* and in England. See 3 a in Volume II.

5 c. Four pages (49-52) from a tract directed against Dr. Richard Price.

Laid in is a slip in shorthand by Mauduit, unfortunately indecipherable.

6. Letters to a Nobleman, on the Conduct of the War in the Middle Colonies. The Second Edition. London: J. Wilkie. M.DCCLXXIX. Map.

By Joseph Galloway, and addressed to Sir William Howe. See No. 7 in Volume II. Bound between pages 50 and 51 is the following MS. note by Mauduit:

¹ This letter is given more fully in Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, II. 209.

"June 18th 1782. Mr. Galloway dined with me and told me he had met that day at Lord Shelbourn's Levy with Mr. Andrew Allen, Attorney General of Pensilvania, who told him, that he joined the royal Army the day that Sir Wm. Howe got to Trenton. That in his way thither, he met with Carpenter Wharton who was deputy Commissary General to the Rebel Army (and cosen to the Sam'l Wharton who was here). I askd him, Well, Wharton, what does Washington think of your Affairs now? Wharton answered, I have seen Washington this morning, and he has been intreating me not to desert him till he shall have got to Philadelphia to which he was retreating, and that then he would discharge him and every other Person: for that all was over. Thus far Mr. Galloway. Quere. Might not the sense of this be the true reason, why that Interested fellow Gen'l Grant advised, and Gen'l Howe took the Resolution, not to cross the Delaware? knowing that then they should have no chance for another year's profitable Campaign, and that the Opposition at home must sink with the Rebellion?"¹

7. A Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount H—e, on his naval Conduct in the American War. London: J. Wilkie. MDCCLXXIX.

By Joseph Galloway. On p. 43 Galloway used a quotation "your poverty and not your will consented," words noted in Mr. Adams's paper, p. 100, *supra*. On this Mauduit comments: "Others have thought, that the Quotation which you so unjustly and so cruelly applied to Mr. Galloway, might with much more Propriety be applied to your self: That your Poverty and not your will consented, to let the Rebels carry on almost a free Trade for the chance of making some of them prizes."

On p. 45 Mauduit writes: "Like a true Luculli Miles. The Recruit of his fortune did not bring any Recruit of Spirit for fighting."

And on p. 47, in reference to the possibility of making a descent upon the coast of New England, Mauduit adds: "which you never chose to do, even though you had the King's express orders to do it. Vid. L'd George [Germain] and Sir Wm. Howe's Letters, page 371 and 462. He was affraid to Land on the New England Coast with less than 4,000 men: and yet the American Loyalists, when the Howes were gone, did it with

¹ The tract contains 101 pages. In the Brinley collection, No. 4177, was a copy having additional matter, pp. 102-118, "in elegant manuscript"; but no indication is given of the nature of this added material or of the writer.

500 men, and entered their harbours, carried off their Vessels, and ravaged their coast with impunity. Vide L'd Geo. Germain's Letter 3d March, 1777, page 394, which contains the King's express orders to Lord Howe and Gen'l Howe to make this Diversion for this very purpose." The page references are to the first tract in this volume. On p. 49 some corrections are noted, but not of such a character as to point to Mauduit as the author of the tract.

7 a. Clipping from the *London Chronicle*, October 9, 1779,

containing an extract from the *New York Gazette* (Rivington's) giving the address of the Refugees, by their president, Cadwallader Colden, to Major General John Vaughan, August 23, 1779, before his departure to Great Britain, and the General's reply.

7 b. Clipping from a newspaper, without date or name of journal, being a letter addressed to "The Right Hon. Viscount Howe," and signed "An Englishman." It criticises sharply his conduct in America.

7 c. A MS. note by Mauduit, printed p. 106, *supra*.

7 d. Clipping from the *London Chronicle*, July 29, 1779,

against Sir William Howe, and repeating the story of Montresor's great gains in America. It is signed "T. P.," but the pen has been run through the letters and "Mauduit" written. See No. 2 a in this volume, and 4 a in Volume II.

8. A View of the Evidence relative to the Conduct of the American War under Sir William Howe, Lord Viscount Howe, and General Burgoyne; as given before a Committee of the House of Commons, last Session of Parliament. To which is added a Collection of the Celebrated Fugitive Pieces that are said to have given Rise to that Important Enquiry. The Second Edition. . . . London: 1779.

One of the most curious tracts in the collection. Facing the title-page is a quotation from the *Monthly Review* for July upon the pamphlet. On the reverse of the title-page Mauduit has written "This Evidence is very imperfect, and cannot be depended upon. The fugitive pieces are the valuable part of this

Book." Following the title-page are four unnumbered pages giving a summary of the contents, and the "Evidence" begins on p. [9], running to p. 70. Inserted between pp. 64-65 are eight unnumbered pages containing the evidence of Joseph Galloway, being a separate issue of pages 63-70 of the pamphlet, with a half-title on the first page: "Evidence | of | Joseph Galloway, Esq; | late a | Member of the American Congress." Otherwise the reading matter is similar to that in the pamphlet. Following the evidence come the "Fugitive Pieces respecting the American War," extending from pp. [71]-154.

Mauduit has made ms. comments upon certain parts of this testimony and pieces. On p. 9, where Cornwallis testified in favor of Howe's abilities, he wrote:

"This is the most extraordinary declaration that ever was made to a Court of inquiry. He voluntarily and extrajudicially gives a full positive opinion in favour of the General's Conduct; and at once extrajudicially decides upon the whole merits of the Question they were to inquire into; and then, lest any part of the Cross examination should too glaringly contradict it, he determines, after having unaskd given a decisive opinion upon the whole, that he will not answer any questions about his opinion upon any of the Parts."

Again, on p. 18, on Grey's reasons for not opening the campaign of 1777 earlier, Mauduit comments:

"Both these reasons are false. The camp equipage arrived the 24th May, and he did not open, even his mock campaign in Jersey, till the 12 June. See his Letters pp. 399 and 408. And the Country was dry and firm for marching that Spring in April. Beside which he had dry forage in plenty at New York and the Rariton to carry up as much as he pleasd to Brunswick, where he was to open the campaign, if he had really meant to do any thing. What is still more extraordinary is, that altho he pretends in his Letter, that he could not open the Campaign sooner, for want of his Camp Equipage, yet he never made use of that Equipage; but made the troops march without tents, thro the whole campaign, but left them on shipboard, having killd and thrown into the sea, all the horses which should have drawn them; they having but dry peas, and a short allowance of water to live upon, almost all died in the passage."

General Robertson on p. 51 gave testimony on the stores left behind at Boston, on which Mauduit says:

"There were above 50 Vessels left behind in Boston. Mr. Vernon's ship was immediately converted into one of their best and most successfull privateers. Yet Howe contented

himself with cutting away her main mast and a few planks on her Deck: all which was presently repair'd. The Inhabitants would have provided themselves with shipping then in the harbour, if he would have given them time: but they were hurried, and told, Sir, you must go aboard this night."

Attached to p. 64 is the ms. note printed by Mr. Adams, p. 100, *supra*. At the mention on p. 146 of a "secret capitulation" made at the evacuation of Boston, Mauduit adds: "made by Mr. Peter Johonnot and Jonathan Amory. Johonnot was a Loyalist and intended to go with the King's troops. Amory was a Rebel, and intended to stay in the Town."¹

8 a. Clipping, part of an article, without date or name of paper, against the Opposition.

8 b. A ms. note by Mauduit.

The two Istmi from Amboy and Brunswick to Trenton on the Delaware, and from the Delaware at Newcastle Bite to Cecil Court house upon the River Elke, inclose the two Jerseys and a chief part of Pensylvania and Maryland, an immense tract of Country, five hundred miles of Coast, and all the most important part of the Middle Colonies. The Distance from Amboy to Trenton is but 37 miles. But the Rariton is a sufficient Barrier up to Brunswick, and from Brunswick to Trenton is only 29 miles. From Newcastle Bite to Cecil Court house is a space of only 14 miles. These two lines Sir William Howe was told, being each defended by 3 or 4 Redoubts, would give him Possession of the Jerseys, of all the three lower Counties, and of all Counties which (except that just above Cecil Court house) were the best affected to the Royal Cause. These were great and populous Countries, that would have much more than supplied his Army with all the Provisions, and all the Carriages, &ca. he could want: and would have furnished Garrisons to defend these Redoubts; and thereby left the whole Royal Army at Liberty to act against Washington; who would have been hereby cut off from all supplies by the sea. These Redoubts might have been made as strong as he pleased; and in case of an attack might have been reliev'd from Amboy and from Philadelphia. And, with a few Frigates upon the Delaware and the Chesapeak, the whole country might have been put in a State of perfect Security. And the fleet and army

¹ See p. 147, *supra*. Johonnot remained in Boston after the evacuation, but Thomas Amory, suspected of British sympathy, removed to Watertown.

being stationd from Rhode Island to Cape Charles would have cut off Washington and the disaffected parts from all possibility of supplies by sea, so that he could not have cloathd, armd, or subsisted his Troops.

Frigates could lye at Burdington [Bordentown].

All this, said Mr. Galloway, being never able to see S'r W'm, I represented to Lord Howe, who approving of it, ask[ed] me have you shewn it to my Brother? No, my Lord, I can't see him: and I therefore shew it to you first: But will your Lordship shew it to him? No. It will be better taken from you. Soon after Mr. Searl, the confidential Secretary to Lord Howe, told me, that Lord Howe said to him, that he had often looked at the Map of America, but never saw the Country in this light before. That, like Columbus's Egg, it manifested itself as soon as pointed out. Mr. Searl then said to me, My Lord never interferes with his Brother about army affairs: But you must force your way to Sir William, and shew it him. However, I never could, and after making many attempts to see him, I sent in the scheme to him in writing, by Capt'n Montresor. But S'r W'm never sent for me, nor took any Notice of it.¹

VOLUME II

Clipping from the *Public Advertiser*, May 1, 1775, signed "Surena" on fertility of Parties in the Kingdom.

Clipping from the *London Chronicle*, August 3, 1779, signed "T. P."

See Nos. 2 a and 7 d in the first volume. This third copy of the clipping also has the "T. P." run through with a pen, and "I. M." added in Mauduit's writing.

1. Remarks upon Gen. Howe's Account of his Proceedings on Long-Island, etc.

¹ Ambrose Serle, to whom Galloway was in the custom of giving information about Washington and "his miscreant troop." Serle must have possessed an enviable adaptability to have served to their satisfaction two such characters as Sir William Howe and the Earl of Dartmouth. Writing to the latter from Philadelphia, January 10, 1778, he said: "I forgot to mention to your Lordship, that the two public Libraries are preserved at Philadelphia. They are furnished chiefly with modern Books, and are disgraced with many Productions of our lowest Authors, even down to Novels and Romances." — *Stevens Facsimiles*, 2075.

This is the same as No. 3 in the first volume, but is more fully annotated. As some of the notes are identical in the two pamphlets, I give such as are not in parallel columns.

Vol. I

General Vaughan said in Sackville Street, that, if they would have left the war to the Americans and the Sixpenny men, they would have soon put an End to the Rebellion. P. 14.

Thus I thought from the General's own Letter. But L'd Cornwallis and the other witnesses say, that they were but 6 of 8,000 in all, and Robinson says that Putnam could not get 300 men to stand to their arms in the Defence of the Trenches. P. 18.

Vol. II

Lord Cornwallis in his Evidence said that the whole number of the Rebels was 6 or 8,000 men. Lord How's Letter says that he Landed 15,000 men on the 22d and an additional corps of Hessian under De Heister, their Commander, on the 25th; so that the whole could not have been less than 18 or 19,000 men. In what a contemptible Light does the General appear who tells us that he stopd such an army in the midst of Victory; for fear they should meet with too much resistance from a handfull of fugitives precipitately flying into their trenches and after having lost near half their army and all their 3 Generals killed, drown'd or taken prisoners. Pp. 18-19.

Gen'l Heister, who was encamped upon the heights, it is said, sent him notice that the Enemy was preparing to get off. June 7th, 1778. Gov'r Wentworth told me that from the heights they could look into the Rebel Camp: and that he himself so look'd into it, and he said that from their motions it was manifest to every one who *would* see it, that the Rebels intended, and were preparing to go off. P. 21.

as if he thought it no part of his business to intercept him. P. 26, against the last paragraph.

Governor Wentworth and his Brother told me, that the Fort at Red hook was evacuated; and that he himself went into it from the Transport he was on board of, the day before the evacuation of the other part of the Lines. And if a Transport could get up thither, how much more could a man of war, if Lord Howe had really desired to cut off the Rebels' retreat. P. 27.

2. Observations upon the Conduct of S—r W——m
H—e at the White Plains.

This is the same as No. 4 in Volume 1, but contains a ms. copy of a part of Faden's map of the region near New York. Between pp. 8-9 is a leaf of Mauduit's writing:

"From the pompous manner in which the Brunx is here spoken of, the reader may be led to think it to be a great River, like the Rhine or the Maeze: but what must be his surprise, when he is told that it is nothing but a trifling little rivulet, which, at that time of the year especially, a child of ten year old would run through, that a man in many places can jump over; which Mr. Leonard and his lame companion walk'd over, stepping from stone to stone, without wetting their feet; which a boat with two men cannot float in; which has a hard gravelly bottom, and gradually sloping banks; so that a waggon or a cannon can easily be drawn through it; and in other places where the banks are steeper, might with the Timbers growing at hand have a Bridge thrown over it in two hours' time. What must be our contempt of a General, who could give to such a pissing stream as this, such a pompous importance; and made the Royal army stand still for three days upon account of it. Especially when we come to know, that he held the Rebels shut up on three sides, and that he could by an hour's march have stop'd their retreat on the northward too, if he had not chose to let them escape by it."

Inserted between pp. 32-33 is a sheet of Mauduit's writing, on the back of which is a clipping from the *Morning Post* of December 29, 1779, being a letter addressed to "Sir W——H—" and signed "American," asking questions on his conduct. The ms. reads:

"*from whence their left Flank might be galld.* If it might have been, it is natural to ask why it was not galld? The Hessian Brigade surely did not march without their Cannon: and whether they made use of them, or why they did not, the General alone can explain. But if there be any Foundation for a Quere, which has been publickly put to him, the General knew experimentally, that they might be galld; and that to a much greater degree, than he chose.

"The Quere which I find put to him among some others is this: Why at the White plains did you silence four field pieces, that under the command of a Hessian Major, were mowing down the Americans in whole Columns? giving for Reason, that the King wishd to spare his American Subjects."

On the Faden map Mauduit has written,
 "Here at Whitstown [Whitestone] he ought to have embarked his troops immediately after he had suffered them to escape from Long Island; and rowed in a straight course to New Rochelle; if he had not wished a 2d time to let them escape. All America saw this, the Loyalists wondered at him, and the Rebels laugh'd at him, for his not doing it. Vid. the American Crisis."

3. Strictures on the Philadelphia Mischianza or Triumph etc.

This is the same as No. 5 in the first volume. There are no ms. notes in this pamphlet, but on the last page (42) is pasted a clipping from the London Chronicle, without date, signed "A Correspondent," giving a remark made by a Quaker on the Mischianza. In ms., Mauduit has added the letters "I. M.," thus establishing the authorship. On the fly-leaf Mauduit has recorded the memorandum sent by Daines Barrington, No. 5 a in Volume 1, and has added:

"Yet these 19000 men were blockd up in Philadelphia, from Dec'r to June; while the General did not choose to march out, and attack 5000, and at last 4000 rebels, who were almost naked at Valley Forge, and instead of fighting and triumphing over the Rebellion he and his officers chose to triumph over the Ministry in his most absurd Mischianza, upon hearing the News of the French Declaration, which they tho't must overturn the Ministry.

"In the Winter of the year 1778, while the Rebel Camp was at Valley Forge, there fell a deep Snow, and a sudden Thaw following upon it melted all the snow and rotted all the Ground: so that the Rebel cannon having no platforms sank into it. After which a sharp frost came, and fixt them there: so that they could not soon be dug out, and made fit for use. The spies sent from Philadelphia¹ into the Rebel Camp brot notice of all this to S'r Wm. Erskin, and told him they had come back by another way, in which the Rebels had no Scouts: so that they would conduct the march so as that the troops should quite surprise them. S'r Wm. Erskin went with this Intelligence

¹ In a slip in Mauduit's writing, laid in No. 1 of Volume 1 of these pamphlets, he mentions the sinking of the cannon, but says: "During all the winter while the Rebels lay in this condition at Valley Forge Mr. Galloway was continually sending spies into their camp, who bro't an account of every thing that passed, all of which he told to Sir Wm. Howe. Galloway also shewd him three plans of the Rebel Camp, and markd where and how easily it might be attackd."

and told Sr Wm. Howe that if he would give him a number of men (6000 I think) he would go and attack em, and as their cannon was useless, his Guides were all ready, and the Rebels themselves without shoes, and in want of every Necessary, he would take or destroy their whole Army. S'r Wm. Howe answerd, he would consider of it, and bade him come again the next morning. S'r Wm. Erskin told him there was no time to be lost, and warmly expostulated with him, and went away very much offended. But the next morning before the hour when Howe had appointed to see him, Sir Wm. Erskin had a Commission bro't to him to be Quarter Master General. A Sopp to silence his reproaches for suffering the Rebels to remain unattackd.

This I heard from Moody: and Galloway said he knew it to be all true; and told me the Spies were of his sending, but he wondered how Moody knew it.

3 a. Clipping from the *London Chronicle*, July 20 [1779], the same as 5 b in Volume 1. Mauduit has added:

And it is to be hoped there never will be a General so indeard to his officers, by signing all their Accounts and by allowing them to plunder the Americans and to charge to the Treasury whatever they pleased. Wrottesley has shewn himself in Parliament O'Hara was one of the most notorious Plunder[er]s, and he and Major Gardener both used to defend the American Cause, and Montresor from being worth nothing got How to sign all his accounts, by which he was enabled to bring home £150,000.¹

3 b. Some pages (353-358) taken from the *Gentlemans Magazine*, August, 1778,

containing "Particulars of the Mischianza in America." Mauduit has added: "This Acct. and the Poetry is supposed to have been written by Major André."

3 c. The *London Chronicle*, February 11-13, 1779, pp. 147-150,

containing a communication, signed "Cato" written for the *Chronicle*, and addressed to Sir William Howe. A caustic review of his military conduct in America. Mauduit has pre-

¹ Charles O'Hara, who was of the General's military family, and William Gardiner who served as an aid to Sir William Howe.

fixed it with this ms. line "From the Caledonian Mercury," and he has struck out "Cato" and written "Lucius."

3 *d*. Clipping from the *Public Advertiser*, May 29 [1779],

signed "A. B." on honors given to Howe. Mauduit has added the letters "I. M." at foot, thus claiming the authorship.

3 *e*. Clipping from the *Morning Post*, May 29 [1779], without signature, on the same subject.

4. Historical Anecdotes, Civil and Military: in a Series of Letters, written from America, in the years 1777 and 1778, to different Persons in England; containing Observations on the General Management of the War, and on the Conduct of our Principal Commanders, in the Revolted Colonies, during that Period. London: J. Bew, M.DCC.LXXIX.

4 *a*. Clipping from the *London Chronicle*, July 27-29, 1779,

signed "T. P." and the same as 7 *d* in Volume 1. The initials have been run through by Mauduit, and "I. M." inserted.

5. The Examination of Joseph Galloway, Esq; Late Speaker of the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania. Before the House of Commons, in a Committee on the American Papers. With Explanatory Notes. London: J. Wilkie. M DCC LXXIX.

The first edition, a second appearing in 1780. It is much more full than that noted in No. 8 in Volume 1, and Mauduit has inserted the names of some of the questioners, like Sir Richard Sutton and Edmund Burke. Two of Mauduit's notes are printed on pp. 114, 115, *supra*. On p. 60 he writes:

"Mr. Galloway kept a regular Journal of the Army proceedings, from the time that he fled across the Delaware to join S'r Wm. Howe at Brunswick. These Events of war were all new, and must have made a strong impression upon his mind. These were the Subjects upon which he expected to be examined; and I saw him more than once preparing himself by reading over the several parts of this Journal. But he had no thought of being Questioned ab't the proceedings of the Congress; and so

little liked them at the time, that he had never lookd into his papers since. Can it therefore he wonderd, that he remem-berd the Army proceedings better than those of the Congress? and yet he gives here as good an Acct. as Mr. Burk could of the proceedings in Parliament 5 years before."

On p. 62:

"What had all these Questions to do with the Inquiry into the Conduct of S'r Wm. Howe? But they servd to fill up the time, and prevent Mr. Galloway's being examined by other people. And with a very ill grace surely could Mr. Burk and his party upbraid or pretend to fix Guilt upon Mr. Galloway, for having been present in the Congress, while these Resolutions were passing, tho he dissented and protested against them; when Mr. Burk and his whole party here in England, justified and defended them."

6 a. Clipping from the *London Chronicle*, July 3, 1779,

signed "A. B.," in defence of Galloway. The initials have been run through by Mauduit, and "I. M." added. Against this clipping Mauduit has entered the note on Howe and Galloway, as in No. 8 of Volume 1.

6 b. Clipping from a newspaper, without date or title, on Howe.

A fragment.

7. Letters to a Nobleman.

Same as No. 6 in Volume 1. The same ms. sheet occurs between pages 50-51 as is noted in the copy in Volume 1. Prefixed is a "Plan of the Operations of the British and Rebel Army in the Campaign, 1777," engraved by J. Lodge. See No. 4 in Volume 1.

On p. 78 the fact is noted that Galloway himself was the person "who had offered to repair the dykes."

7 a. Same ms. note as 8 b in Volume 1.

VOLUME III

1. A Short View of the History of the New England Colonies, with Respect to their Charters and Constitution. The Fourth Edition. London: Wilkie, MDCCLXXVI.

One of the few publications to which Mauduit attached his name. In its original form it was confined to a history of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Three editions appeared in 1774, and the fourth was expanded so as to include New England. Although this copy contains no MS. notes, the paging is peculiar. There are two pages numbered 29, and the reverse of the first so numbered is blank. The pamphlet runs to p. 60, which is followed by pp. 95-100, and then come pp. 73-101. On the front fly leaf Mauduit has written:

"If any man wish to know what a very honest Enthusiast, from his own visionary Ideas of the perfection of Civil Liberty, may fancy, that the Constitution or Colonies *ought* to be, let him read Dr. Price.

"If he think it of more Importance to know what the Constitution of the Colonies really is, this History will clearly prove to him from the Evidence of Facts.

"The Constitution of the Colonies did not wait for Dr. Price's Fancies; but existed a hundred years before he was born: having been already formd by their Charters; by the Conditions upon which they made their Settlements, under which they have been considerd as parts of the British Empire; and under which they have enjoy'd the Protection and the Privileges of British Subjects (to say nothing of the constant Usage of the Crown, and then of the Parliament to tax them).

"The Constitution of our Government, like that of the human Body, is a System, that is already formd; and not a new thing, now to be fancied. And we may apply to it what Boerhaave used to say to us in confutation of fancied Theories: *Corpus humanum Fit, non fingitur.*"

2. [Knox, William¹] The Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies Reviewed, etc. London: J. Almon. MDCCLXIX.

Mauduit has made three or four emendations of text, but only one note of interest. This will be found on p. 131, where is given an "Extract of a Representation of the Commissioners met at Albany, July 9th, 1754." On this Mauduit writes:

"This was drawn by Mr. Hutchinson, with Franklin's concurrence. Mr. Hutchinson told me, that he and Franklin drew up

¹ The writer was aided by material supplied by the Board of Trade, and by the co-operation of Grenville, who wrote pp. 67-86 inclusive. It is the quasi-official reply to Dickinson's *Farmer's Letters*.

all the papers and memorials of this Congress. I. Mauduit. So that this man, under the Encouragement of the then prevailing party, advanced all these bold assertions at the bar of the house, altho he knew that he had given memorials and a state of Facts that proved the falshood of them."

3. [Title-page is wanting. The half title on page 1 reads] The History, Proceedings and Debates of the Fifth Session of the House of Commons of the Fourteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

Taken from Volume XIII of the *Parliamentary Register*.

It runs from p. [1] to 64, and 269 to 412, and has many MS. notes by Mauduit. A peculiarity is at once noticed. There are many slips pasted in, in a writing different from Mauduit's. Most of these slips are attached to the pages covering the testimony of Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, and show an unusual familiarity with the local conditions in the Delaware River, much greater than one who had never been in America could have possessed. The writer must also have been on the ground when the British came to Philadelphia. The insertion of "my journal" in one of the notes gave the clue. The informant was Joseph Galloway.

The first four replies given by Cornwallis are annotated by the remark that "the truth is diametrically opposite to these answers. Gall[oway]," in Galloway's writing (p. 2). On p. 4, in the same writing is the comment on Cornwallis' assertion that no boats were found on the Delaware: "A proposal for procuring 100 Boats which woud have carried over 100 men each, was made to Sir Wm. Howe, before he left Brunswick. Those boats might have been easily procured. But the proposal was neglected. Galloway."¹ On p. 12 Mauduit makes his first real comment "How willing to outrun the Question in favour of How, while he knows nothing of any Question that makes against him." When on May 11 Sir Andrew Snape Hammond was called to the stand, Mauduit says: "If the reader be apprized of that great partiality which Lord Howe shew'd to Captain Hammond, in preferring him to all the other Captains; he will not wonder at the evasive answers, and artfull misrepresentations, here made use of, to justify his Patron." (p. 33.)

¹ The notes and slips that follow are not in Galloway's nor in Mauduit's writing. There are some insertions in the other volumes in the same writing, and generally dealing with Galloway, or information obtained from him, speaking of him in the third person. I do not recognize the writing.

That the reader may not be left in any doubt Mauduit proceeds to make free comments upon Sir Andrew's answers, and so numerous are they that it will be necessary to list them with sufficient of the text to locate them. The letter G is added to such notes as are in the unidentified writing, yet indicate Galloway as the author or informant. The text is given in italics:

P. 34. *I dont know any River so difficult of Navigation.* It is certainly not difficult any where above Bambo Hook: and below that place the Rebel force upon the River, from their low construction could not venture. G.

Ships of war can only pass certain passages at particular times of the tide. And is not this the case in almost all Rivers?

The report which I recollect I made to Lord Howe, etca. The common Report in the Fleet and army was, that Capt. Hammond had informd the General that the Rebels were so well prepared in the Delaware, with Fire Rafts etca. that he could not get up. With this Report Capt. Hammond was repeatedly charged in Philadelphia: and he as often denied that he had made any Report to discourage the going up the Delaware. G.

The Coast of Delaware . . . is lowland etc. This is not the Fact: There is a bold shoar, without marshes, and a very good Landing for the whole army at Bombo Hook, below Rheedy Island. And there are*no Creeks, which run more than six miles from the Bay, before they are passable for men on foot.

*The River is so narrow.*¹ The main channel of the River from Rheedy Island to New Castle is from two to three miles wide, in which the largest of the men of war Lord Howe had with him might safely ride. G.

P. 35. *There was a Ship calld the Province ship, etca.* The province Ship mounted only 14 six pounders. G.

The Delaware Frigate, etca. The Delaware Frigate mounted four twelve pounders, twenty nine pounders, and six four pounders. G.

A Brig mounting, etca. The Brig mounted only fourteen six pounders. G.

Two Floating Batteries, etca. These Floating Batteries had Ten eighteen pounders each. But they were not Finishd nor mannd, when Howe was in the Delaware on the 30th [July]. G.

13 *Rowe Gallies, etca.* One of these Row Gallies carried one 32 pounder; six of them a twenty four pounder; and six of them an eighteen pounder. G.

¹ Governor Johnstone was the inquisitive member who framed the questions on the nature of the Delaware.

Thirty six Row Boats, etca. There were only Twelve Row boats. G.
Twenty five or thirty five Rafts, etca. There were only Ten Fire rafts. G.

I saw them all myself. How could he see them, when they were all destroyed by the Rebels before our Fleet got up?

It is an entire marsh. There is a mile of good firm ground above Newcastle and below Wilmington.

P. 36. *My intelligence mentioned Wilmington.* The Captain very cautiously mentions his Intelligence, and not his belief: for Washington's army was then in the Jerseys, and there were no troops in Pennsylvania, nor within ninety miles of Wilmington. G.

To remain posted at Wilmington. If the rebel Army had been at Wilmington, the British army might have landed at New Castle or above it. If at New Castle, it might have landed at Wilmington, without any molestation from the Enemy: as the distance from one place to the other round the Head of Christiana Creek is 14 miles. G.

By the works I saw at Wilmington. Those works were made after the British Army landed at the head of Elk.

Marching of Armies. Just before, when it made for his Patrons Service, he could readily determine, that the Rebel Army would march to Newcastle to oppose the landing on the Delaware: but now when he is ask'd, whether they would not for the same reason have march'd along a plain Road to the head of Elk, the Evasion is, I have very little knowledge of the Marching of Armies. G.

P. 37. *Distance between Reedy-Island and Newcastle.* It is twenty miles from Reedy Island to Newcastle. [Sir Andrew had answered "five or six miles."]

There is no part of the Delaware. At Rheedy Island the Delaware is seven or eight miles wide, and the sea is too rough for the Gallies. Their sides are not above 18 Inches above water.

How far was the lower chevaux de frise from Reedy-Island? It is 40 miles from Rheedy Island to the lower chevaux de Frise. [eighteen or twenty, according to Sir Andrew.]

Every intelligence I had received. See the note on page 34. He still cautiously sticks to the word Intelligence; for he himself can scarce be supposed to have believ'd it, as that intelligence, he himself says, was given him at the Capes, near 100 mile below Wilmington; and Washington was in the Jerseys, near 100 mile above Wilmington.

P. 38. *Not less than four or five days.* On the 30th and 31st of July, and for a fortnight after the wind was fair, and there was no part of that time in which the fleet might not have sailed from the Capes to Rheedy Island in 24 Hours: the Distance being only 8 miles. G. The Channel from the Capes to Reedy Island is five fathom at least. See Fisher's Draft.

Row-gallies in particular are constructed to go in very shoal water. The Row Gallies draw some three feet, some four feet. The largest, the Washington, Commodore Dougherty drew between $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet and five feet.

P. 39. *I think it is a very rapid tide.*¹ Will any other mariner call it so?

As they had encreased their force. Their Force had not been increas'd from that time to the 30th of July.

P. 40. [On fire rafts] The Tide doubtless must run much stronger in a channel a quarter [third] of a mile wide than at Newcastle, where it is two miles wide. These fire Rafts obliged the Roebuck and Leverpole to slip their cables in a channel, which was only a quarter of a mile wide: therefore they would have obliged Lord Howe with the Royal Fleet to run away in a channel two miles wide. Sir Charles Saunders at Quebeck, where the channel is but a mile broad, and the stream runs ten knots or miles an hour, despised these Fire Rafts. But the British Navy never was doomed to such Infamy, as it sufferd under the Command of Lord How.

[Between pp. 40-41] Capt'n Hammond will not find the Ignorance and credulity of mankind quite so great, as the Confidence with which he asserts, that it was dangerous for the Army to land at Newcastle; where the Transports could come close up to the Wharf, and the great Ships could come close up to them, or in a channel two miles wide could chuse their stations to protect them.

The Question is not, as L'd Howe and Capt'n Hammond have fallaciously stated it, whether it is safest for an Army to land without opposition, or with it. But whether Lord How was to lose two months of the most critical period of the Campaign, and to sacrifice the King's northern army, which he had the King's express orders to cooperate with, upon a bare possibility of finding resistance at Newcastle, which he certainly would not have found, either at Newcastle, or any where else. Washington with all his little Army was then in the Jerseys; the rebel defences and water Guard were not finishd. But Burgoigns ruin was not then begun and that alone made it too soon for them to act.

The larger Transport ships, which went from hence, carried over each of them a Flatt Boat (built here) upon their Deck, and each of these Transports had the care of its own Flatt Boat, to mann it, when it was wanted. They required six or eight men and a cockswain to row them, and when the service was over they were returned to their own ship. When the Boats had landed the Troops at Long Island, the Fleet of Flatt Boats was laid up under the care of their

¹ Sir Richard Sutton was the questioner on the tides of the Delaware. *Parliamentary Register*, XIII. 102.

several Transports, and they all lay at Red Hook, below the Rebel Fort at red Hook. So that they were all within two or three miles of Governour Island, when the Admiral sufferd 3 or 4 Rebel Boats to pass from N. York to that Island, for two days together in his sight, and take off the troops and Tents and cannon, and all the Stores, which had been left there.

P. 41. These Row boats had only four pounders. And they had but Twelve of them, instead of 36.

P. 42. *Did you know of any body of troops*, etc. Still using the same caution. He will not answer he knew of any troops on the western side of the River; but he received Information — from a man at the Capes, 200 miles off Washington's Camp in the Jerseys.

P. 43. *In so narrow a channel as that*. He has forgot that he had told us, that the channel was two miles wide, and the River near three miles.

None that I saw. He might say none that he saw; but could not say none that he knew. For the Howes knew that Burgoign was then coming down to them; and that they were bound by the king's orders to cooperate with him. And to run every Risque therefore (if there had been any) to land at Newcastle; instead of flying away to sea for fear of being opposed by the most contemptible of all Force.

P. 44. *To oppose them*. Captain Hammond knows, that there were no Militia in Arms from Wilmington to the Capes on either side of the River, nor a single cannon to oppose the Landing. G.

Brig'r Gen'l Rodney had the command of them. That Brig'r General never did nor could muster 400 Men. The Delaware Counties were almost universally disaffected to the measures of Congress; so that there was no danger of an Opposition to the Landing. This was proved by the same Militia not opposing the Landing of the troops at Elk River. G.

P. 45. *North West particularly in the night time*. The south west wind generally prevails in the months of June, July and August; the westerly wind in these months is only a gentle Land Breeze in the Calm nights, which do not extend ten leagues to sea, nor continue but a few hours. But far out of the reach of these, Lord Howe took care to keep the fleet. G.

If we had been certain that the southerly winds would have lasted. If an admiral is never to act till he is sure the fair wind will not change, he must never act at all.

If the fleet had gone up the Delaware, etc. In the Circumstances thus stated, this would have been impossible. For the Gallies can not beat to windward with the Tide against them; and therefore could not have come down.

P. 47. [Distance from Mud Island to Reedy Island, stated by

witness to be twenty five or 26 miles.] He had said before 18 or 20 miles. It is really 40 miles from Mud Island to Reedy Island.

As high as Chester. A 64 Gun ship may lie in any part of the River, far above Philadelphia, except on the Bar opposite to Wilmington at low water. The Tide ebbs and flows eight feet. G.

P. 48. *Twelve men and an Officer each.* There were 300 Transports in the fleet, three men from each transport amounts to 900, so that there were men to be spared from the Transports to have landed the Army without taking one man from the men of war, which might have been employd in defending the fleet against the Rebel water Guard and fire ships and rafts. G.

If the fleet had proceeded, etc. The Delaware is thus narrow only above the Mud Island Fort, no where below it.

It relates principally to the parts, etc. This answer is not true.

Not possible to sail during the night. The fleet did not stop, as appears by my Journal but one night. It was moonlight and the wind tolerably fair. And the Admiral had his Boats as marks to direct the fleet. G.

I do not conceive that a fleet, etc. Every part of this answer is either evasive, fallacious, or false. The difference was two months instead of three weeks. It was not uncommon, the southerly winds he knew generally prevail at that time of year, and his north wind they knew would last only a few hours. They were told that the south winds constantly prevail in those months.

P. 49. *That depends totally on the distance.* The Distance must have been very short indeed, at Newcastle: for a Frigate could lye up to the warf. At the head of Elk it was much greater, and yet the morning on which the troops began to Land there, they were all landed by one a clock at noon.

About three days. This rarely ever happens in the Months of June, July and August, the winds never being then so long ahead as [to] occasion this delay. G.

Only 8 or 9 Pilots to 250 sail. Eight or nine pilots were more than sufficient, under a good Admiral, to carry up a thousand sail with safety. G.

P. 50. *Up to Newcastle.* The fleet with a north wind would never have got to Newcastle. G.

Four or five miles of Ground. Note — the Channel at Newcastle is two miles in Breadth, so that the whole fleet might have anchored certainly within one mile. They did so at the Elk river, and in less distance. G.

There are no other notes of value in the pages following, only three or four pen entries being found, except at p. 376, where some short hand notes are laid in.

Dr. GREEN then stated that,

In the last volume of the *Proceedings* (XLIII. 631) there is an allusion to an organ, which is somewhat obscure. It is printed among the Willard Letters, and is found in a communication written by T. Brand Hollis and dated at London January 30, 1788. The allusion is as follows: "With respect to the organ I only thought it necessary for my own honor, as it conveyed a reflection, & I took that answer to vindicate myself.

Yet what is musick and the blended power
Of voice with instruments of wind and string?"

The solution of the reference is found in a note written in the copy of a small tract against the use of instrumental music in the worship of God, which was published in London, and in its origin had a certain connection with the oldest church in Boston. The title of the pamphlet is "A Tractate on Church Music; being an Extract from the Reverend and Learned Mr. Peirce's Vindication of the Dissenters" (London, 1786). The inscription on the *verso* of the title-page reads: "This Tractate on Church Music is inscribed to the Reverend Doctor Chauncy and the Reverend Mr. John Clark, the ministers; and to the several members of the First Congregational Dissenting Church in Boston in America."

The pamphlet begins as follows:

The subject before us may be resolved into a question, which, simple and uncompounded, is no other than, whether it be fit and proper to introduce the use of instrumental music into the public worship of almighty God, as being able to excite in us devout and spiritual affections?

Plain singing is universally admitted to be, at once, capable both of raising and improving sentiments of rational piety and devotion; and is commanded in the new Testament. Where the heart and understanding are so intimately interested, like every other united act of praise, it is calculated to produce a good effect. But the addition of instrumental music should seem more calculated to divert and dissipate the pious affections of a reasonable service, than to fix them upon their proper objects. And if express authority be pleaded in its behalf, such authority should be proved by other evidences than a general command concerning singing. It is not enough, to say, that musical instruments are able to stir and cheer

our minds; for it is not lawful for us to bring into use such things, of our own heads, into God's worship.

In a postscript to the Tractate, the editor expresses his gratification at having the approval of his sentiments by such divines as the Reverend Dr. Price and the Reverend Dr. Kippis, and adds extracts from their letters. "He is the more desirous of subjoining the opinions of these gentlemen, because he knows the deserved esteem with which their names are regarded in America." Dr. Price strongly disapproves of "instrumental music in churches," and says that "it is a deviation from the simplicity of Christian worship which has a dangerous tendency and may terminate in all the fopperies of popery." Dr. Kippis is equally explicit in the expression of his views. He writes that "the use of instrumental music in Christian worship has no foundation in the New Testament, which is the standard of our faith and practice. If once we depart from this standard there will be no end to innovations. An opening will be laid to the introduction of one superstition after another, till the simplicity and purity of the gospel service are wholly lost. Every thing, therefore, which tends to divert men from a rational inward devotion to external pomp and ceremony ought to be discouraged as much as possible."

One naturally asks why this Tractate, printed in London, was dedicated to the ministers of a dissenting church in a distant and foreign town? The explanation is to be found in the following note, written in the margin of a copy which I once saw, then belonging to the late Mr. Henry Stevens, of London. In the year 1786 this copy was the property of S. Toms, in whose handwriting the memorandum appears to be.

Printed by the direction of Mr. B. H., for the purpose of sending to Boston, where he actually sent a number to Dr. Chauncy, &c., instead of granting the request of £500, for an Organ, they repeatedly made to Mr. Brand Hollis, and meant to put in their place of worship.

From this note it would appear that an application had been made to Mr. Hollis for an organ, and that he took this method of giving his views on the subject. It can be known only by inference what the applicants thought of the method.

Mr. Brand Hollis and Mr. T. Brand Hollis are the same person. See Quincy's "History of Harvard University" (II. 411).

More than forty years ago I wrote a notice of this Tractate, which was printed in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, January 14, 1870.

Mr. JAMESON, a Corresponding Member, communicated, through Mr. FORD, letters of John Bridge and Emmanuel Altham, 1623, 1624, with this commentary upon them:

The following letters were discovered a few years ago by Mr. Reginald G. Marsden of London, at the same time with the letter of Governor William Bradford and Isaac Allerton, which he published in the *American Historical Review*, VIII. 294-301. The three papers were found in a mass of then unarranged and uncalendared material in the Public Record Office, which had been sent to that office from the Registry of the High Court of Admiralty. The three letters were produced as evidence for the defence in the suit of Stevens and Fell *c.* The *Little James*, a suit brought by two of the crew of that famous little vessel after their return to England from Plymouth in 1624. They sued for their wages. The defence was, that they had forfeited their wages by mutinous conduct; and in the end the claim was dismissed. The letter of Bradford and Allerton, dated Plymouth, September 8, 1623, and addressed to the merchant adventurers who had provided the colony with capital, was despatched on the *Anne*, sailing from Plymouth September 10. The present two letters, for the text of which I am indebted to Mr. Marsden, are addressed to James Sherley, one of those adventurers. The first, that of the unfortunate John Bridge, master of the *Little James*, was dated September 9,¹ and went in the *Anne*. The date of the second, written by Emmanuel Altham, captain of the *Little James*, may be read, I am informed, either May 28, or October 28, 1624. It must however have been May rather than October, since the *Little James* herself sailed from Plymouth in August, as we know from the fact that she carried Lyford's letter of August 22, 1624.²

Emmanuel Altham appears in the list of the merchant ad-

¹ Not September 27, as stated in *American Historical Review*, VIII. 295.

² Bradford (Deane), 188.

venturers, dated 1626, in Bradford's letter-book.¹ In the records of the Council for New England we read, under date of January 21, 1623, "Emanuell Altam goeth Capt. in the New pynnace for Mr. Peirces plantation,"² and again, under date of February 25, 1623, "Lycence granted for the little James to Samuell [meaning Emmanuel] Althem."³ Later, under date of March 11, 1623, it appears that the marshal of the admiralty had impressed some of the sailors of the *Little James*, of which Altham is again mentioned as captain.⁴ Captain John Smith also speaks of "Altom" as captain in this voyage of the *Anne* and *Little James*, and of his being sent away, after the arrival in Plymouth, to trade to the southward with the smaller ship.⁵

That the master of the *Little James* was named Bridge or Bridges we know from Morton, "Mr. Bridges being master thereof."⁶ A list of those who came in the two vessels is printed by Young.⁷

Concerning the arrival of the two vessels, Bradford says, "About 14. days after came in this ship, caled the *Anne*, wherof Mr. William Peirce was m^r, and aboute a weeke or 10. days after came in the pinass which in foule weather they lost at sea, a fine new vessell of about 44. tune, which the company had builte to stay in the cuntrie."⁸ Winslow's statement is, "In the latter end of July, and the beginning of August, came two ships with supply unto us; who brough all their passengers, except one, in health, who recovered in short time. . . . The bigger ship, called the *Anne*, was hired, and there again freighted back; from whence we set sail the 10th of September. The lesser, called the *Little James*, was built for the company at their charge. She was now also fitted for trade and discovery to the southward of Cape Cod, and almost ready to set sail," *i. e.*, almost ready when Winslow and the first of these letters departed from Plymouth in the *Anne*.⁹

The present designation of the place of these letters in the Public Record Office is "Admiralty Court Misc., bundle 1142."

¹ 1 Collections, III. 48.

² Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1867, 79.

³ *Ib.* 88.

⁴ *Ib.* 89.

⁵ *Generall Historie*, 239.

⁶ *Memoriall*, 48.

⁷ *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 351.

⁸ Bradford, 142.

⁹ *Good Newes*, in Young, 351-353.

BRIDGE TO SHERLEY.

Prima.

WORTHY SIR, — My dewtey remembered and to your blessed wife yelding you umbell thanks for your kind remembrances and love both towardes me and my pore wife may yet please you to understand after a long and trubellsum pasag we safeley araived at our port with all our Company and one mor for Goodey Jenenges¹ was delevered of a Child in the Shep a month before we cam a shore and are both well yet god be praised father Virtcher² and his wife wear as hartey as the youngest in the shep and ar stell other informations I ned not sertifie you of but concerninge our owne afares for ther be a none eles will both by word of mouth and writing first your shep proveth wonderos good aney can be there was never a finer bote swome but as for the companey are men good to but young grenne headed felowes and very uncarefull of aney husbandrey in a shep witch makes my trubell great for lack of a staid man for our howld We had a great maney of thinges spoiled that might have ben saved for Jenenges he had no laisor for all he could doe with more help was to letell for to give tendance to his lazy wife for toppe he and all the rest would not tak that paines for theay sailled for nothing So that from one to another I never leved with more discontent in my life then I have done for trewley I am so bound to your love you may comand me to doe mor then any man that ever I served but no man shall mak me venter to sea againe with men upon the sam condetions for theay car not witch end went forwardes and now the governer seing our troubell so great and fering what might insew haveth cum to cumposision with them for wages³ or eles I might have bread a gre[at] inconvenientes witch the captain and I allwais fered so that yet is now a letell mended and I hop will mend still we ar now bound to the Suthward a trading I pray god send us god suckses for corne and skenes and in the spreing god willing I think we shall to the norward upon trad and fishing we are now readey to set saill within this 2 daies for till Mr Perse was gone⁴ theay could not spare us noe men or else we had ben gone befor now but we shall be sone enow for corne and I hop to god for skenes we were 3 monthes and 2 daies outward⁵ and had mutch foule wether and foges consedring the

¹ Presumably Sarah [Carey], wife of John Jenny, is meant.

² Edward Burcher, or Burchard. Savage (*Dictionary*, i. 300) says he came in the *Anne*.

³ See Bradford, 155, and the letter of Bradford and Allerton, *American Historical Review*, viii. 296.

⁴ Captain William Pierce, with the *Anne*.

⁵ As the *Little James* arrived, judging from Winslow's statements, not later than August 8, it must have sailed not later than May 6.

time of year as ever I knew the Ane was thear 8 daies be for us we rod at anker upon the cost 7 daies befoged and she being a great shep in time of fowle wether out bor us I think that was the reason yf we had not renewed our vetales at the Ile of Wight we had cum short of drink especially for we careyed but 4 hoges hedes of beare in with us and our other provetiones mutch wasted. Sir I receved your leter and M'ris Sherleyes token whitch I umbley thank you both for for inded you have done me as great a kindnes as might be in the leter for god knowes when I shall hear from my wife againe that may be not before I cum hom whitch I think will be the next sumer they have so promised me likewise in the good drinke for in could wether father Adames all¹ will be verey could whitch I pray god restore M'ris Sherley againe 4 fowlde for god willing I will indever the best I cane to mak you amens So dear frendes with my dayley prayeres to god for your longe blesed hapey and joyfull lives together I rest your por sarvant bound in all dewtey

JNO. BRIDG.

Plemoth in New England
September the 9th. 1623

Sir yf my wife mak bowld for to trubell you be for I cum hom let me intreat you for to firnesh hir for a woman may have maney occasions in hir husbandes absentes and rather I am to want my self then she Good Sir let me intreat you for to rember my serves to the worshepful Companey of new England and let them under stand I will folow thir besenes to the utermost of my power god willing both in husbandin of your shep and in other afares my pestoll haveth bad sutceses for you sent it with George Morten² and he left it at Ports mouth Good Sir let me intreat you to remember me to Mr Sherley³ and his wife and to all the rest in generall of the good companey Mr Sirgen⁴ is cum away upon sum distrust and misbehaveyour but let every man medell with his owne maters for I have enow of my owne So Sir faring lest I be tedious with my dayley wishes for your blesed helth and hapeynes with your blesed bed fellow, I rest

Yours in all dewtey

JNO. BRIDG.

I pray Sir to remember me to Mr Glase you can tell him yf he did earn his quart of win god willing I will pay yt at my retorn

¹ Ale.

² George Morton, Bradford's brother-in-law, came in the *Anne*.

³ Probably John Sherley, as in Altham's letter.

⁴ Thomas Dawson the surgeon; see the letter of Altham, p. 187, *infra*.

faine I would [send] him a token but the pine tres are to bege I
cane not in cloe them in my leter once [more] der frend god kepe
you

[Address] To his aproved frend Mr Jeames
Sherley at his house in Croked Lane
thes deliver

In London

per a frend whom god preserve

[Endorsed] Mr John Bridge from new England — September 1623

ALTHAM TO SHERLEY.

MOST WORTHY FRIENDS, — Your Loving Letters I have both
receved much about one time beinge about the middle of Aprill 1624,
wherein I conceive both your greate love and care over mee which
for my part shall never bee rewarded with ingratitude. It pleased
god that your ship called the Charity arrived at Plimoth in New
England about 5 weekes after her departure from the English coast
but the certaine day I know not ¹ because I was at that time 60
leagues from thence at Pemequide a fishing but after she had de-
livered her passengers and goods she went imediatly to Cape Ann
where in all likely hoodes they are like to make a good vioage if
god with hold it not ² for in all possibility the settled course which
your selfe and the Company have taken will bring in much profit
for indede it is the only meanes above all other yet notwithstand-
inge the trade of furies may helpe but that is not so sure a thinge
by reson of divers (as I may call them) interlopers.

Soe sone as Mr. Perce ³ his cominge into the land came to my
eres I was forced much against my minde both by the importunity
of Mr. Brige and insolences of all our company to make a vioage
from Pemequide to Plimoth which had I not undertaken although
with much hazard of my person all our company had and would
have dispersed themselves and if ether my selfe or the master would
detaine them they openly thretened a more spedy revenge ether to
kill us or to blow our ship up but thes things are past and the
party deade whoe spake it and I feare that god whoe knoweth all
hearts prevented him by death from actinge thoes villanous pro-
jets which by his words in his life he professed to do.⁴

The occasions of this was two, first in regard provisions went

¹ In March, 1624, according to Morton, 72 (of ed. of 1855).

² William Pierce was to be captain of the *Charity* on her homeward voyage. In coming from England, Baker, a "drunken beast" was the master.

³ The ship went to Cape Ann for fish, but arriving too late for the fishing season, the voyage proved a failure.

⁴ Perhaps one of the two men named as having been lost with Bridge.

very hard with us and the next was a folish and nedeless feare they had of there wages. To prevent all this and farther mischeife I went to Plimoth about the begininge of Aprill where by the way I was forced with contrary winds and fowle wether to stay somewhat longer then I wished, but at my coming to Cape Ann I there found Mr. Winslow¹ and master Perce for which I was very joyfull and soe h[avin]ge receved of them divers comendations and letters from your selfe and my other frends I went with all possible spede to Plimoth to know the governors resolution for thus it was, that provisions we had but very few before Crismas but were fane to heve some pease out of Plimoth store and soe because we were goinge to fish amonge our countremen we thought to get divers things by reson of Mr. Brige his acquaintance, but thes our hopes were much frustrated for coming to the fishermen we could have noe provision without present pay which I was destitute of notwithstandinge I offred to become bonde for any thinge I tooke up, but they not regarding nether the Companies nor my word did rather sollicite our men to come worke with them for there victals, and to leave the ship, then to shew any love or frendship to us in helpinge us, there fore rather then our company should goe away and our vioage be overthrowne we were constrained to use a present though unwilling meanes to get some provisions as bred and pease which before wee were destitute of soe havinge despached my business at Plimoth and receved my or[der] From the governor Mr. Bradford and his assistants, which was that looke what fish wee had caught in our pinnace should presently be brought to Cape Ann and to deliver it to Mr. Perce and afterwards to aide and helpe Mr. Perce in his vioage, in what we could both with our men and boats to all which as I am in duty bound soe I consented unto it and with all convenient spede wente away to our ship Mr. Winslow beinge with mee and by this time which was about the last of Aprill I thought Mr. Bridge had kild about 10,000 fish for more I thinke our salt would not have saved, but by the bacwordness of our people and strange mishap thes hopes were quite altered for coming within one daies jorney of our ship this untimely news came to mee that our pinnace was cast away and Mr. Bridge and two of our men drowned being John Vow and Peter Morrett (all which news did not a little troble mee) knowinge what great cost and charge you have bin at for us, and also knowing that upon the good and prosperity of the ship and vioage depended part of my reputation and profit. but this unwelcome news did in conceite deprive of both. But cominge home to our ship I there found this news true thus farr, that Mr. Bridge our master was drowned and

¹ Winslow had returned to New England in the *Charity*.

the two men, and the ship in a very strange manner spoiled for thus it fortun'd that upon the 10th of Aprill 1624 hapned a greate storme and some of our cables that we were moored withall gave way and slip of on the place they were made fast to ashore and soe the winde and sea being very high drave our ship a shore upon rockes where she beate.¹ In the mean time being night the master and Company arose and every man shifted for them selves to save life, but the master going in to his cabin to fetch his whishell could not get in to any boate aboute the ship the sea brake soe over the ship and soe by that meanes before a boat could come the ship overset and drowned him and the other two and the rest that were got into our shallops that hung about the ship had much a doe to recover the shore your cosin for one for the ship oversettinge pich her maineyard in to one boate where were 6 or 7 of our men and soe sunke her for thoes that could then swim got to the shore with much hurt the rest that could not swim were drowned, and soe before the next morninge our ship was quite under water sunke and nothing to be sene save only the tops of her masts some times for the sea did rake her to and fro upon the rocks All which disasters did not a little troble mee for our ship was not only spoiled, our men drowned, but wee that were saved lost the most part of what wee had in the ship, my selfe especially lost my bokes and some clothes and most of what I had, but my comfort is that God will restore mee some thinge one day againe for afflictions are but trialls of his love. [We lost three shallops and our ships boate and another shallop we borrowed which we . . .]²

After my cominge to our ship and seinge how al things stooode and that although the ship were much spoiled and bruised inso-much that some of our neighbors very dishonestly intised our men to leve the ship and to seeke out for there victals shewinge them that the ship was unrecoverable and usinge many arguments of diswation (to them) god knoweth whoe were willinge to intertaine any thinge against us before but now laiyinge hold one of this oportunitie reiocyng or I here departed. But at my coming home I got them all together and sought farr and nere for helpe to recover our ship if it were possible, which to doe seemed difficult but by the helpe of one Mr Cooke of Bastable and divers of his frends and my acquaintance, weighed her out of the water and soe by the helpe of many hands wee got the ship into a place nere by convenient to see what possibility there was of saving the ship. Soe having viewed her, there was broken of her starbord side 6 or 7 plancke and some

¹ At Damariscove Island, Maine, near the mouth of the Damariscotta River; see the parallel narrative in Bradford, 155-156.

² A sentence written lengthways in the margin, and not completed.

timbers which wee mended with helpe and one her larbord side halfe her plancke timbers and knes were broken in such sort that then she was thought impossible to hold together by reson of the hurt she had receved outward and the shaking of the beames and timbers inwardly but blessed be god by the helpe and meanes that I have got of carpenters shee is now made up as strong and sufficient for the sea as ever she was, and if not one of our company come in her yet by the helpe of god we beinge fitted with a sufficient man master I will come in her and doe not doubt but through gods mercies to doe well in her.¹ although for this time we shall not make soe good a vioge as is expected for whereas we thought to have got 10 or 12 000 fish we had scarce 1000 and some of that was lost and all our salt for the ship beinge beate ashore brake downe our stages and there we lost both the salt and fish that was in it and all the rest of the salt, powder, provision, and many other things which if god spare my life I will give account of were lost, the rest of the things that wee saved shall safely and truly be delivered by mee to you with an account of all our mens cariages and behaviors that soe you may reward some and reprove others.

And now, Lovinge Sir, since that I have trobled you with writtinge thus farr pardon mee if I bee to tedious, for it makes mee continually be the more larger to you in writtinge, because I know both you and many other good men have laide out much mony upon Plimoth plantation and especially as for the goods upon this ship, soe do I conceive and know your eyes are upon us in a more especiall manner, and for that this vioge hath not begun nor ended soe well as ether you or I could wish yet I pray pardon mee for a while in the same untill I shall come to speake with you and the rest of the Company, For untill then I will nether comend my care and deligence, nor dis-comend the want of ether of them, for full sone may a man err, but as my labor and care was never wanting heretofore so untill I shall make a full accomplishment of this troblesome vioge and then to deliver all things in to your owne hand I will continue the same, and as at this time I have noe man to assist mee that I can trust (the master beinge gone) soe will I straine to the uttermost of my knowledge to bring every thing to the same order it was, and then to come for England if our governor pleseth and he hath sent me word that he will provide mee a sufficient man for master notwithstanding Richard Gardiner hath earnestly requested it claiming it as his due by place, but some say not by sufficiency.² I will say noe more concerninge him be-

¹ On the saving of the pinnace cf. Bradford, 188.

² Originally one of the *Mayflower's* company, "Richard Gardiner became a seaman, and dyed in England, or at sea." Bradford, p. 454. What is here said

cause I know you shall understand it by others, only thus much I must nedes say that soe farr as he could he was willing to helpe us with the ship and now he takes it somewhat unkindly that seing the Company have sent our ships company assurance for there wages that he is not intimated therein, soe much for that which is to be left to your and the Companies wisdome.

And once againe let me be pardoned if I seme to be overbold. I understand by your Letter to Mr Bridge that you are somewhat discontented with mee for not takinge a French man which wee met withall, but to the contrary wonderfully comend and extoll Mr Bridge for his corage and forwardness in the same notwithstanding my backwardness. To answeere which I will doe in few words. It soe happned that about 400 leages of the lands end of England we met with a small french man as I take it he was of Rochell, in the morninge we had sight one of another and he stooode right with us and wee with him, Cominge nere us hee spied us to be an Englishman soe he stooode away from us and by a sudden puff of winde brake his maine mast, for we beinge desirous to here news and alsoe to see if he had any skins aboard or if he had bin a trading one the Coast of new England we stooode after him and hailed him what he was and whence for he told us he was of Rochell and that he had but 7000 of Corfish aboard of him and that he was come from the banke of new found land a fishinge and also that his ship was leake soe he made the more hast home before he had made his vioage, but we mistrustinge him sente our boate aboard him to see if he had skins, but in conclusion we saw he was very pore and had not bin a shore on noe place, and soe gave us some fish which at that time we stooode in greate nede of as alsoe of woode of which he had none because he had not bin on land noe where. All thes things being considered I hope you will not blame mee, for I would doe in your behalfe in that kinde rather more then less then my commission would beare me out in, but this ship was 500 leages from any part of new England when we met her and if I should have done it I had brought a greate troble both upon you and my selfe for I will assure you and all the Company that if you will but get a letter of mart¹ and a safe protection from his Majestie of England for taking of french men on new found land banke you might esily with this pinace take and leave what ships you list. for wee had sight of 20 saile of French men at one time and I beleve never

of his position strengthens the argument made by the late Mr. William T. Davis, 12, 13, of the edition of Bradford in the series "Original Narratives of Early American History," to the effect that he, and not Robert Cushman, was the "R. G." of Mourt's *Relation*.

¹ Marque.

a one had any ordnance, but to end pray pardon mee if I have done amiss but what I did I have done in my opinion and in the opinion of all the companies at Plimoth for your pease and my owne safty, for the governor hath sene my comission and saith him selfe I could not have answered it,¹ therefore pray blame mee not for my good will and care, for I should be very loth to lose a frend for nothings and upon noe occasion especially when frends are hard to get, and as at this time although I might complaine of my time all spent because it hath bin a troblesome time to mee yet I am quite of another mind for as I was called by god to this place so through his blessing I will discharge it honestly whether I lose or gett by it but out of all question the course that you have setled now will bring in profit inough, for they make salt at Plimoth, and have good store of boates, all which is meanes to bring in profit, and I make noe question now but that new Plimoth will quickly returne your mony againe for the most part they are honest and carefull men, however they have had many crosses, yet now they will florish god blessing them, which god grant.

I doe understand that Thomas Dawson the sirgion hath bin very large on his tongue concerning my selfe or that I should be displaced by Mr Bradford, and many other contumelious speches, as alsoe he informed you about the frenchman, for all which I pray sir if you see him certifie him that I will make him answere it in England, and although it cost 100^{li} I will make him see the goale for it, and there he shall lie if god bless me homeward, if it please god to deale otherwaies with mee I pray god give him more grace, but I hope you doe not beleve him, but I wold wish you rather suspect him, for he is the veriest villane that I ever knew as hath bin testified buy his cariage both to Plimoth Company, your owne selfe and Company and alsoe to mee And truly I feare that I shall justly lay that to his charge which if it be prosecuted will goe nere to hang him.

Att this time I doe expect news from our governor Mr Bradford and as I thinke he will determine that we shal bring home Mr Perce his cor fish and traine, but I thinke it will fall out otherwaies, for I have at this present receved a letter from one of my acquainetance that is owner of a ship in this Country and he proffers me for to hire our ship and to take our men out and to put them in to his owne ship which goeth for the streights² and soe by this meanes I hope to get a good fraught and to save wages and provisions for some of my owne company and this answere I have returned him that I demand 140^{li} for our ship and to come for England presently soe that then we shall be defrayed of all charge and

¹ Bradford, 155.² Of Gibraltar.

have our ship brought home for nothings, and indede we must be forced to come for England very sone because we have noe provisions nor have any meanes to get any, but of all thes thinges I write in what I thinke, for I have and ever wil doe reffer all thes matters concerning your ship to the governor and his assistants directions, and if good suffer mee they shall be followed.

I pray Sir let the 40^s I gave Mr Mastige a bill for be paide at first sighte for he did mee a greate kindness in it for otherwaies I could not have got some bred which I did.

Thus my love beinge remembered to your selfe and wife with thanks for your token I receved by Mr Winslow being 3 gallons of hot water Pray remember my love Mr Terrill Bacco¹ Mr Stubbs and his wife your brother Robert and Mr John Sherle and his wife to Mr Brewer² Mr Collier³ Dr Ran Mr Marshall Mr Thorrell⁴ and to Mr Pocop⁵ my good frend and especially to Robert Cochman⁶ and all thes the rest of my lovinge frends of the Company and out of the Company.

And I pray Sir if you please let the Company see my letter for looke what I have wrote to you in particular soe much would I have wrote to them in generall but time did wonderfully prevent mee in such manner that I am put to streights every way.

I pray remember mee kindly to my two brothers and my sister and the rest of my lovinge frends and pray let them know I could not have time to write to them, only I pray tell them I am well and that I hope one day to see them againe, but the time is uncertaine, yet I feare wee shall come soner than I desire since our greate expectation is soe hindered by misfortune, but I doe not doubt of the profit that may be raised the next yere for now you have layed as good a ground plot as ever was and better then before, for with out this course of fishinge you cannot have your monies againe⁷ Thus praying to god daily for them and you and for al well willers to this forraine plantation I ever rest yours and others to my power

EMMANUEL ALTHAM.

I pray tell Mrs Bridges I will save her husbands things for hir, soe much as wee saved, it being almost al lost.

¹ Query, Bass? Edward Bass was of the Company.

² Thomas Brewer, of the Company.

³ Probably William Collier, who afterwards came to New Plymouth.

⁴ Matthew Thornhill (?), also of the Company.

⁵ John Pocock, one of the merchant adventurers, and one of the first set of assistants of the Massachusetts Company.

⁶ Cushman.

⁷ The fishing ventures of the Company were never profitable, and involved it in heavy losses.

The hast of this messenger makes me forget divers things which I should have wrote to you of but I hope al things will be for the best seinge it can be noe better for be not discouraged at this bad news, but hope the next yere for better, which I doe promise, if you hold on the course begunn.

Vale.

[Address]

To the Wo and my most respected Loving kind frend M^r Jeames Sherle tresurer for new plimoth adventurers dewllinge on London bridg (at the Golden horsshaw) New England the 28th of May ? 1624.

Pray send these three letters to M^r nathaniell at the 3 Cocks in Chepeside.

Mr. WENDELL, in presenting to the Society for its collections, some manuscripts bearing upon the relations subsisting between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, 1732-1749, stated that he had found them in the house of his grandfather, the late Jacob Wendell, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, among a large and unassorted mass of old papers, most of which had apparently belonged to John Rindge, of Portsmouth (1695-1740), an ancestor of Mrs. Jacob Wendell, and maternal grandfather of John Wentworth, last royal governor of New Hampshire. The Society has printed among its *Collections* two volumes of letters and papers of Jonathan Belcher, taken from his letter books in its possession. The letter books for the period April, 1735, to August, 1739, are not in the possession of the Society, and what is now printed fills a gap in the records of Belcher's administration of the Province, and are valuable because they give evidence on both sides of the controversies in which he was so deeply involved.

MANDAMUS

By Her Majesty the Queen
Guardian of the Kingdom &c.

Caroline R C R

We Being well Informed of the Loyalty Integrity and Ability of Joshua Peirce, Esqr. do hereby In His Majestys Name Direct and Require you forth with upon the Receipt hereof to Swear and Admit him the s'd Joshua Peirce to be a Member of his Majestys Councill of that his Majestys Province of New Hampshire In one of the four Vacancys Occasioned by the death of John Wentworth, Mark Hunkins, Archibald Macphedris and Sam'll Penhallow Esqrs. And for so doing this shal be your Warrant And so we bid you farewell.

Given at the Court at Kensington the fifth day of September 1732
In the Sixth year of his Majestys Reign.

By her Majestys Command

HOLIS NEWCASTLE

Joshua Peirce Esqr. to be of the Council of New Hampshire.¹

ATKINSON TO THOMLINSON.

PORTSM'T: N. ENGLAND March the 4: 1736/7

SIR, — You have on the other Side the Comm'tts acknoligement
of the Recipt of your favours of the 14 Aug't and 12 Novem'r.²

And now Come to give the Reason that you have not had so frequent
advisses from us as a Comm'tt appointed by the assembly
To Transmit the proceedings there of to you.

You'll observe that there was a number of our most Considerable
men as they Call themselves and are so Esteemed by the People in
Gen'll that Subscribed towards Carrying on the affair of the Lines
and promissed me that the money should meet me in London and to
this time have Rec'd no more then £25 note on you from Mr. Atkin-
son and £21 10 this Currency from Coll'n Wiggen out £260 Sterling
Subscribed in the whole

And at our Last Sessions as you may have observed by the Votes
which Mr. Atkinson Tells me he sent you that there was a Committee
appointed to address his Majesty to Remonstreat some of our gre-
viances which address Was drawn up and Reedeey to send and not
one of our Great men tho we ware Intierly debard the drawing out
any publick money of the Treasurey would Then advance one penney
but as before threw the whole affair on me, at which I was somewhat
uneasy and did not send it for this Reason I thought and am still of
the same oppinion that they ware not only dishonorable but verry
unjust bouth to you and me. however I am still hearty and stanch
in The affair and all tho it is I sopose sweled to a much Greater
Sum then we Ever Expected it would yet am Content to pay you the
amount of the Charge which I hope will Come In the first Spring
Ship and I hope we still have Intrest Enough to get a good assem-
bley which is to meet his Excelency on the 8 Ins't and our Election
is the 7th the success of which shall be able to send you By Capt
Peircen on whom Coull'n Dunbar Designes if nothing from Lon-

¹ In *New Hampshire Provincial Papers*, iv. 629, will be found a letter from
Joshua Peirce to Governor Belcher, and Belcher's reply, concerning this *Mandamus*.

² Thomlinson's letter of November 12 is printed in *New Hampshire Provincial
Papers*, iv. 852.

don to prevent him Which god grant there may for if he goes from us we must Expect our Intrest Bouth in Church and State to decline and I feare suffer many Insults Whilest under the administration of G B[elcher] Which I pray you'll Endeavor to guard against.

I Confess we have now a good prospect of the speedey Settlement of the Lines Which when done if Mr. B'r Continues our Governor It is in his power with The Councill to Confirm all the Lands to the people in The other province that have made Settlements Even In this province and we make no question of his good Intention to distress this province and as he has a Councill here that would do as he ordered them he only wants a good assembly and then all things would goe Right. and we find it has generally been with the Council as he Says they have voted and done Every thing in There Power to distress the Province.

And since I have Enggaged in the affair am determined to se it out tho am sorrey to tell you that our most Considerable men and the pretended friends to This affair and the affairs of the province in General are Either verry strait Lased for money or have not so much honor as I Could wish for, want of which Things do not goe here as I would be glad they did.

I hope on the Settlement of the Lines we shall have a Change of times for the better I wish we may be seperated from the other Province and that Coll Dunbar may be appointed our Governor notwithstanding he prehaps may have been Represented a Turbulent person I must Confess I never saw any thing Licke it in him but should be Contented and well pleased to here he was The man if nothing better ofers for him at home.

These papers you sent us Last are verry full and satisfactory to many people of the other Side the question and I hope by some of the Spring Ships We shall have the Commission over.

BELCHER'S REPLY TO WIGGIN'S PETITION.

To the King's most Excellt Majesty in Councill

Jonathan Belcher by your Majesty's Grace and Favour Governor of your Majesty's Province of New-Hampshire in New England, to the Petition of Andrew Wiggin and others, who call themselves a Committee of Representatives of said Province.

Humbly craves Leave to Answer:

That with the most profound Duty and Thankfullness he acknoleges your Majestys Indulgence, in giving him an oppertunity of replying to the said Petition Exhibitted against him in way of Complaint by the said Andrew and others, which said Complaint the

Respondent humbly apprehends amounts mostly to an Invective, vented in General Terms by a few discontented persons, with Design of getting the Respondent Superseded in his Government.

In the first place, I crave leave to observe the Impropriety and Injustice of their blending your Majestys Governor and the Council together, my share of the Administration of the Government being entirely distinct from theirs, For it is well known that I have nothing to do with any Orders, Acts or Laws, till they are agreed to by the Councill and Representatives; and I challenge the Complainants to give a single Instance of my not assenting to any Order, Act or Law, past by both Houses, since my taking the Government upon me, altho it is my Duty so to do whenever I shall think any of them unreasonable and not for your Majesty's Service or for the good of your People. If the House of Representatives are at any time aggrieved by the Council they know where to repair for Redress, nor can it be expected that I am to answer for any Defects or Misconduct of the Councill. *But* I think myselfe happy that I may now answer before your Majesty touching the things whereof I am accused. Acts 26. 2.

2. The Respondent observes that, instead of particular Allegations and Proofs Exhibitted against him, a Number of reproachfull Epithets are collected, to Stain and blemish his Character, Such as — *Distressed, Deplorable, Groaning, Unhappy Province*, occasioned by an *Arbitrary, Partial, unreasonable* and notoriously *Detrimental* Administration, producing *Melancholly Prospects and impending Ruin*. These things would indeed be matter of just Complaint, were they within the Bounds of Truth.

3. The Respondent observes that he is charged in his Male Administration with being Abbetted by a major part of the Councill, and those said to be persons promoted to that Honour upon his Recommendation, which is a great Mistake. The four Senior Counsellors were Members of the Councill long before the Respondent's coming to the Government viz. Shadrack Walton, George Jaffrey, Henry Sherburne and Jotham Odiorne Esqre.

Joshua Pearce Benning Wentworth and Theodore Atkinson, it is well known were not of his Recommending so there can be but five, in twelve, recommended by the Respondent and one of them Benja. Gambling Esqr. for 4 or 5 years past has been almost wholly Confined to his House (by Sickness), and was not out of his Door at either of the last Sessions, and is since dead. But were the Councill every one promoted to that Honour by the Respondent[']s Recommendation, that could be no Reason of Complaint, it being the Respondent's Duty, in obedience to your Majesty's Royal Orders, I say, 6th and 8th Instructions, to Recommend Suitable Persons for the

Councill, as there may be occasion. And it can be no Reproach on any Account, for the Councill to nonconcurr the Proceedings of the Representatives, they being appointed by your Majesty as a guard on your majestys Honour and Authority in the Government.

The Complainants say *This* (meaning Arbitrary Administration, if they mean anything) is evident from the nonconcurring for five years past the most wholesome Laws the Representatives could advise. But how the Councill's nonconcurring what the Representatives passed (if it were true) can prove the Arbitrary Administration of a Governor is beyond the Respondent's Understanding, and a new method of inveighing against the Governor, which none but his adversarys cou'd have been Guilty of.

Altho' it is not my Business to answer for any part the Councill are pleased to act in the administration, yet, I can't help taking Notice of so flagrant a Falsehood as their saying, This is Evident from the nonconcurring for five years past etc. Whereas, at the Session of the Assembly held in March and April 1737, there was more Business done than at any one Session in the Province before; there being no less than ten Acts or Laws past, and not a single Bill sent to the Board, and nonconcurr'd or not Consented to by the Governor.

4. As to the frequent Dissolutions and Opprobrious Speeches, the Respondent has a Right by his Commission to dissolve Assemblies whenever he may judge it necessary for your Majesty's Honour or the good of your People; and he never did dissolve them but from a Sense of his duty on these Heads, and the Respondent is Surprized that the Complainants Should make mention of Opprobrious Speeches, who have so often treated your Majesty's Governor with so great Indecency, and of which their present Complaint is a fresh Instance.

5. As to their Unanimity and former Freedom from intestine Jarrs, the Respondent Replies, that much more severe Messages passed under Governor Shute's Administration, than ever has done since, and the aforesaid Andrew was then one of the Representatives, and the said Governor Shute did, by the Unanimous Advice of the Councill, dissolve the Assembly for their Indecency and Insolence to him.

The Representatives, the said Andrew being one, bid a sort of defiance to Lt. Gov'r Vaughan, voted against his Authority, and denied him the usual pay as Capt. of the Fort, because he refused to render an Account of the King's Powder to them, and his pay remains due to this day.

Lieut't Gov'r Wentworth compounded with the House of Representatives, the said Andrew being one, and purchased his Peace of

them by the Grant of Sundry Townships, in every of which every Assembly man had a share.

And Governor Burnett was forced to Bargain with the Assembly, the said Andrew being one, to give the Lt. Gov'r part of his Salary (the Lt. Gov'r having granted them so much Land) before they would give the Governor any Salary at all.

To all these things may be added the frequent Tumults during Governor Cranfield's Administration, and again, the driving Lt. Gov'r Usher out of the Province with an armed Force.

It is with Reluctance the Respondent mentions these Things. Neither would he have done it but to evince the matchless Audacity of the Complainants; who humbly hopes that these hints, which he is obliged to give in his own Defence, will not be imputed to the Body of the People as persons hurtfull to Kings and Provinces, or Movers of Sedition, for they are not so, but really a well-minded, Honest and Loyal Populace, tho' the weaker of them, such as some of the Complainants, have been at times deluded, misguided and led astray by a small discontented Clan, who thirsting after offices and Honours have changed Reason for Malice, and have abandoned good manners and Truth.

6. The Vote of the Respondents Administration being a Grievance I think has little in it, when it is Considered that the House of Representatives, consisting only of 19 Members, ten whereof make a Quorum, and six a major Vote, it was easy for the Discontented to watch a juncture for obtaining such a Vote. Besides this may be no Fault or Dishonour to a Governor, since it is so common in the Plantations for the Houses of Representatives to be too bearing upon a Governor, who according to his duty has a tender Regard to your Majesty's Honour and Int[er]est.

7. The Complainants say that the Respondent (with a major Part of the Council,) had taken the most effectual Steps to render your Majesty's Gracious Intentions with Respect to the Boundaries ineffectual, a Gross Charge indeed, and, if true, might justly bring the Respondent under your Majesty's Royal Displeasure. But it is as great an Untruth as they could Suggest, and the Evidence is as absurd as the Charge is false. For they say that Article is apparent from the following Considerations, namely, that they should trespass upon your Majestys Patience if they should enumerate their Greivances, and how the Massachusets had usurped Dominion over them, and exercised oppression; and these Considerations are offered for Proof that the Governor and Councill of New Hampshire had endeavoured to hinder the Settlement of the Line. This is of a Peice with their way of Reasoning, where they say the Governor's Administration was Arbitrary, because the Councill did not concur with the Acts of the Representatives.

8. They say they were proroged to 6th July before any necessary steps could be taken in obedience to your Majesty's Commission, which is another Gross Misrepresentation. *For it was on the first Day of April that they were proroged to the 6th of July*, and they had then sat from the 8th of March. A longer Session of the general Court has hardly been known in the Province, and at which more business was done than perhaps at any one Session at any time. And as before mentioned ten Acts past, and they had a long and full Oppertunity of taking what Steps they thought proper respecting the Line. But to answer more directly their saying "Before any necessary Step could be taken in Obedience to your majesty's Commission, they were proroged to the 6th of July" The Commission which they say they had not oppertunity to obey, bears date the 9th of said April, 8 days after the prorogation to the said 6th of July was made, and it was impossible to take Steps, in obedience to a Commission before it had a being. And the next prorogation was made to 4th August by Proclamation on the 20th June, before ever the Respondent knew a Commission had passed the Seal for Settling the Boundaries, and when the said Commission was passed it was sent to Mr. John Rindge (one of the Complainants) and by him Contemptuously Secretted from the Respondent, who has never seen it to this day. And the Copy of it, which was at last sent to the Respondent by the said Rindge, was delivered him after issuing the Proclamation for proroging the Court from 6th July to 4th August. *And as to the next prorogation from 4th to 10th of August the Respondent could apprehend no manner of Inconvenience*, supposing it impracticable, as things stood, to enter upon Business sooner than that time. They go on and say that I designed to embarrass and perplex their affairs by recommending the Choice of two publick officers; when I knew at the same time their Committee had appointed those officers. In answer to which your Respondent says the said Committee had not the least Coulour of Authority to appoint such officers, your Majesty having directed in your Royal Commission to your Commissioners that two such officers should be appointed by the whole general Assembly, and in obedience to your Majestys said Commission I was obliged to Recommend to the Assembly the appointing of them, that there might be no Failure or Defect in the Proceedings on the part of your Majesty's Commissioners; And this I did, instead of having the least Inclination to Obstruct this Matter, that no time might be lost to bring it to an Issue.

9. They say immediately after the Commissioners had made up their Judgement and before they could get a Copy the generall Court was proroged to the day before the Commissioners had adjourned their Court, which, they say, stript them of the Benefit

intended by the six weeks Adjournment; your Respondent answers that the House of Representatives *sent* a Vote to the Council for appealing to your Majesty from the Judgment of the Commissioners, which the Council nonconcurred, and *voted* it was not for the Interest of the Province, either to appeal, or defend, but that it was best humbly to submit the Matter as the Case then stood to your Majesty's wise Determination; and the Council also voted against the Provinces being burdened with any further Expence of money in the affair, and the Committee who did appeal had the same power of Appealing in the Recess of the Court, as during their Sitting, and for these Reasons I judged it would be to no purpose to keep the Assembly still sitting.

Lastly the Mention of the Grant to a Township as a Greivance seems to be verry Extraordinary Considering what former Governours have done of that kind, and what large Shares of new Townships, heretofore granted, have been or are now enjoyed by almost every Member in the present Assembly. And in as much as your Majesty by your Royal Commission has intrusted the Power of Grants of Land to your Governor and Council, unless they could say with any Coulour of Reason this Grant was to unsuitable Persons, and not for your Majesty's Interest and that for your People, I know not how they could make it Matter of Complaint.

May it please your Majesty,

Your Respondent has with all Humility thus made answer in the most particular manner he could to this Complaint. And altho' I have at all times done every thing in my power for the Service and Ease of the People of new-Hampshire, yet a great part of the Salary they settled on me of 600*l.* a year their Currency (being but 120*l.* Sterling) they unjustly and unreasonable kept from me, by not making any supply of money to the Treasury for five years together; and for which Space all the Debts of the Province remained unpaid, for no other reason that I could see but to keep the Governor out of his Salary as by law established.

In Obedience to your Majesty's Royal Orders to me I have Constantly transmitted to one of your principal Secretary's of State, and to your Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, Authentick Copys of all things transacted in that Government; which being Inspected, and maturely Considered, I hope will fully Vindicate your Respondent from the unjust Insinuations of the Committee of the present House of Representatives; and he doubts not but that his Conduct in your Majesty's Service within your Province of New Hampshire will bear the Strictest Scrutiny, and if he shall thereupon have the Honour still to stand in your Majesty's Royal Grace and Favour, and that this Petition will be dismissed with

Marks of your Majesty's just Displeasure, because I am fully Satisfied your Majesty will not give Countenance to a House of Representatives to invade your just Rights and Prerogatives, or to Insult your Majesty in the Person of your Governor who is, with the most profound Duty and Loyalty, your Majesty's most Obedient Subject and Servant

JONATHAN BELCHER.

BOSTON, June 9th, 1738.

ATKINSON TO JOHN POTTER AND EZEKIEL WARNER.¹

BOSTON, Aug. 11th, 1738.

GENTLEMEN, — I now acknowledge the rec't of yours of the 27th of July Last and observe the Contents. We acknowledge you have Each a great Deal of room for complaint which would unquestionable have been removed had we had an opportunity of Laying the matter before the Generall Court which since you Left us hath not been permitted to meet. We have often Lamented the want of a Bill of Cost being Taxed by your Court both for your Sakes and our own; then should we have had money (after paying Each of you very Honorablely) to recieve from the Massachu'ts, which was plainly within the Power of your Comission. The Gen'l Court now stands prorogued to some time in September next when we hope there will be a Session and as there now Lays a Complaint before his Majesty In Council against the Governor and a Majority of the Council from the House of representatives here for obstructing the affairs of the boundary Lines, perticularly in not Concurring the Severall Votes for Defraying your Expence etc, we say, we hope the Governor and Council will not Deny your payment at Least, and should the Comittee Pay the allowence made you for your time, tho' small enough, it would be an Objection made in the Court against the allowence which we have some of us Experienced in this affair already, haveing heitherto advanced great Parte of the Expence besides the whole of what accrued in England. Wee hope, Gentlemen, as you are well knowing in our Circumstances, we need make no apollogy but be assured we shall never sit easy till you are Honble satisfied.

We are Gentlemen with utmost
respects your obedt humble servants.

¹ Potter and Warner were of the eldest councillors in Rhode Island, and for that reason selected by the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs to serve on this boundary commission. *New Hampshire State Papers*, xix. 262.

ATKINSON TO THOMLINSON.

[1738?]

SR — You having rec'd a Letter signed by our selves and many other members of his Majestys Council and those that had been representatives for most of the Towns in this his Majestys Province in all the Assemblys since Gov'r Belchers administration which by a mistake was Dated we understand the 15th of March, when at the same Time that Letter was signed In June Last. In that Letter we mentioned many things to you we then tho't would be for his Majestys Honor and for the Saftey, and Wellfair of this his Province, to all which we beg you would now again be refferred. Since which we have been without an Assembly till the 23d of Octo. Last when a new House was Call'd by the Gov'rs Precept but his Excelency not coming in to the Province the House were admitted to take the Oaths only and then without so much as the Choise of a Speaker or Clerk were Prorogued to the 3d. Ins't and now again by his Proclamation further Prorogued to the 23d. Ins't We should have wrote you before now, but have been in hopes of Doing it in a more authentick manner by a Vote of the House of representatives which nothing but this Long Vacation of near a year and the Prorogations since hath Defeated the Province of; but be assured the Province in Gen'l Continue in the same minde as they have all along been we are Informed by your Letters that sundry Petitions have been Prefferd to his Majesty, but as those Petitions were obtained here in a very Clandestine manner and the Contents in most Towns could never be obtained we hope they will have Little weight with his Majesty Those Towns that could by any means Procure a Copy haveing in Gen'll Town meeting Protested against the said Petitions and that alsoe gave rise to our Letters to you above referd to. You are too sensible of the Difficulties the Province Labours under Especially in this Present aspect of War. We therefore must once more Intreat you would use your utmost Endeavours to Get the affairs of this Province under your agency and negotiations finished. we assure you, Sir, that nothing gives the People in Generall more Satisfaction then to finde by your Letters You have still hopes of freeing us from the Massachusett Bondage, and Do assure you that tho' a few Inconsiderate Stragling People may have petitioned his Majesty to Do some things that if Granted would Certainly bee Prejudiciall to his Governmt if the said Petition contains what we have been Informed it Doth, yet those Petitioners must be so Inconsiderable in their Numbers and most of them in their Circumstances to the Province in Gen'll, the secret manner of its being obtaind, and the Assemblys not sitting to have a Vote thereon Leaves us Little

room to fear any Disadvantagious Consequence therefrom the Assemblys for many years haveing always when an opportunity offred Acted in Gen'll Court Quite Contrary to what we apprehend those Petitions Contain. However we assure you tis the Hearty Desire of the Generallity of the Province that that should be a separate Government from the Massachusetts, that our Lines should be asserted and fixed, and that if his Majesty could be prevaild upon to Grant us the Liberty of Makeing a Paper Currency to put us upon a footing with his other Governments.

THOMLINSON TO JAFFREY AND OTHERS.

A Copy per Pattison

LONDON, 20 Aug't, 1739.

GEORGE JAFFREY
THEODORE ATKINSON
JOHN RINDGE . . .
THOMAS PACKER

} Esqrs

GENTLEMEN, — I am now to Acknowledge your favour of the 7th June with your minuets of council, and since I wrote Mr. Rindge on the 11th Inst. have attempted to bring on your affairs; But the night when we should have Moued for a day, to hear your Complaint against G. B.,¹ their was not Lords to Make a Committee, or can we hope now to have any more committees before the latter end of October Next; had your papers comed to hand but one Month sooner, all your affairs had now been over, and I believe to your great satisfaction and I think to the Gennerall Satisfaction of the Province, but however we cannot be now delayd longer then that time upon Any Account Whatsoever.

The Report of a Warr with Spain and Very likely with France too, obliged Mr. Gulston² and my self, and others, to wait upon his Grace the Duke of New Castle with the Inclosed Memoriall, which was laid before his Majesty, and Refferd to a Committee of council, and by them Referred to My Lords Commissioners for Trade and plantations, and after they had made Enquiry and Considered the affair, they Reported upon it as favourable as possible, and amongst other things sett forth that it would be for the Service of his Majesty, and the Interest of the Province to make it a Seperate Government but on last Wednesday evening when their Lordships Said Report should have been considred by a Committee of Council, there was

¹ Governor Belcher.

² Joseph Gulston, merchant, and contractor for supplying masts to the royal navy.

not a Committee, which if their had been, we had great hopes we should have obtained every thing Necessary, for the Safty, and Defence of the Province, and allso such a Governor as would not only have been most agreeable to you, but allso to every Gentlemen in the Province (tho not an Irish man) but such a Man, as even those in the opposition would have been pleased with, and we hoped allso with some Sterling Sallery, But that affair Must allso lye dormant untill the first Committee in October Next, and Gov'r Belcher agents here have delivered the three Petitions you Mention in your letter, in order to obstruct this Separation, as well as the other advantages we hoped for; but I beleive they will faile of their design, for I apprehend, all that will be done upon those pettitions, is, they will be Refferd to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, when we shall not only have an opportunity to shew their Lordships, by what Means they were obtained, and for what purpose, but allso of opposing them with the Exeter Petition against the Surveyor of the woods, and allso with Mr. Acouchys¹ affidavett, and the Consequence will only be giving their Lordships an Occation more strongly to set forth the Necessity of seperating the Governments, and putting your Province in a better State of Defence, and it is the opinion of the learned here, that upon the hearing of your complaint against G. B. that we shall be able to prove such partiallity disobediance and Corruption upon him, in so much, as to affect him in the greatest degree.

Now therefore if he should have been in your Province and held an Assembly, as I cannot fear that you have been prevaild upon by any of his Stratigems to do anything inconsistent with the Interest of the Province, or your affairs depending here, so I hope you will send me Every thing that you have done that May further those affairs here, and If you should have done nothing in a Publick Capacity, it might not be improper for you to write Me a letter in the same manner of that you have sent me of the 15th March 1738, and as well signed or better if possible, setting forth as in the afore said letter who the Subscribers are, and what a Naked and Defenceless, and Ruinous condition the Province is at present in, and the great disadvantage you have all along Laboured under by being under the same Gov'r with the Charter Government of the Massachusetts Bay, and that you must still Continue under all these Difficultys, so long as you are under this Sittuation, and that as soon as G B found he Must be obliged (by the severall orders of Council) to Authenticate your papers to prove your Severall Matters of Complaint against him, how and by what Means he went about to obtain those peti-

¹ Robert Auchmuty.

tions, and allso, what sort of people the Signers Gennerly are, and what number they are in proportion to the Whole, and all other unjust Methods, he hath taken to destress the Province, and your affairs depending here, and dont interduce any other Matter into said letter, and If you go about this affair Directly, and send it by the Very first Vessile that sails from your place, or Boston to Any part of England, it will undoubtedly be with me before your affairs are over, and May be of Singulour Service; and I would have it done by all means, and If you can send any proper affidavits to prove what methods he tooke, and any unjust Means used to get those petitions signed, or any of the other facts you shall advance in the said letter, they will all be good Evedence before My Lords Commissioners for Trade and plantations, I hope you will doe Every thing of this Nature you Can conceive May be usefull, If as I said before your papers had been one Month sooner you would have been spared this Trouble, but however it is now the last you Can have for this fall must determine your affairs absolutely, and I hope so Early as you May know of it by Xmas, I shall not fail doing every thing on My part, and I hope you will allso do as you are here directed, for we cannot be too Strong or too Secure and this May be done without cost, or much trouble, or Noyse, for surely the More private the better, I have not to add, only that I am with the greatest Esteem Gentlemen Your most obed't hum'le ser't

JOHN THOMLINSON.

FROM THE COMMITTEE OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS.

To the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of His Majestys Most Honourable Privy Council.

MY LORDS, — Pursuant to your Lordships Order of the 29th of August last, We have reconsidered Our Report to Your Lordships dated the 10th of the said Month, Setting forth that it would be for His Majestys Service and the Good of the Colony of New Hampshire that it should have a distinct Governor

We have also considered the Memorial of Richard Partridge in behalf of great Numbers of His Majestys Protestant Subjects of New Hampshire, and several Addresses thereto annexed, from the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the said Province, desiring to be continued under their present Governor, and also to be annexed to the Government of the Massachusetts Bay, and praying, in regard to their Poverty, that they may not be put to the Charge of Maintaining a Person to be Governor of that Province only. Whereupon we take Leave, to acquaint Your Lordships.

That We have been attended on this Occasion by Mr. Partridge Agent for the present Governor, and by Mr. Hollings his Counsel, and also by Mr. Gulston, Mr. Wentworth, Mr. Thomlinson and others, in Support of their Memorial.

We have likewise Examined several Witnesses, concerning the Condition of the Province, Several Speeches also of the Governor to the Council, and Assembly of New Hampshire were produced and read, wherein he, at different times, recommends the Defence of that Province to their Consideration.

It appears also that this Province has been in a Naked and Defenceless Condition for a long Course of Years, preceeding Mr. Belchers Administration, which is so far from being contested by the Petitioners for a Distinct Governor that it is admitted to have been one of the Motives that formerly induced the Inhabitants of New Hampshire to pray that they might be annexed to the Government of the Massachusetts Bay. Nor indeed did We ever apprehend that the Memorial, upon which Our said Report was founded, did in any Sort lay an Imputation on the present Governor, either on this or any other Account, but recited the Facts only which were considered by Us merely as Matters of State.

It was urged in behalf of Mr. Gulston, Mr. Thomlinson, and the rest of the Petitioners that New Hampshire being a Frontier Province to the Indians, and the French Settlements, might, in its Infancy, when it had but few Inhabitants, stand in need of the Protection of the Massachusetts Bay, and on that Account might have prayed to be annexed to the Massachusetts, but that the Case is now Altered, New Hampshire being better Inhabited and Planted, and in Condition, with proper Helps, to Support and Defend itself. That it has been found by long Experience, that a Governor of the Massachusetts Bay will always have a Natural Partiality to that Government, in preference to the Interest of New Hampshire, That as to the Addresses annexed to the Memorial of Mr. Partridge, very few of the Subscribers were Persons of any Note or Substance, nor were the same Dated, or Signed at any Publick Meetings usually resorted to for the like Purposes. Several Persons were Examined to the Truth of this Allegation, and in particular Mr. Waldo and Mr. Wentworth, who declared that they did not know above ten or Twenty that were of any Rank or Figure amongst the said Petitioners.

Upon the whole We are humbly of Opinion, that it can never be for his Majestys Service to Annex this Province of New Hampshire as an Increase of Territory to the Massachusetts Bay, as is desired by the Petitioners, since, by daily Experience, We see that neither His Majestys Royal Orders, nor the Laws of Trade and

Navigation, do meet with a cheerfull Compliance in any of the Charter Governments, nor indeed do We see any Reason for altering Our Opinion, from any thing that has Appeared to Us on this Hearing with respect to the Appointment of a Seperate Governor for the Province of New Hampshire. His Majesty has lately been pleased to Seperate the Jerseys from New York, and We apprehend the Reason will be Stronger here; for as much as the People of the Massachusets Bay, have shewn evident Marks of Oppression, by the unreasonable Delays they have made in the Settlement of their Boundarys, and the Weight of the larger Government will always be felt by the lesser annexed to it under the same Governor.

If the Inhabitants of New Hampshire were under a distinct Governor it is probable that they might with more Cheerfulness exert themselves in the Case of their Fortifications, and in providing for the Defence of their Country, but if his Majesty should Graciously incline to Grant their Request, since contradictory Evidence has appeared upon this Occasion, We conceive it might be proper to take once more the Sense of their Assembly, upon this Subject, and also to know what Provision they are willing to make for a seperate Governor. We are

My Lords

Copy

Your Lordships Most Obedient and Most
humble Servants

R. PLUMER
M. BLADEN
JA. BRUDENELL
AR. CROFT.¹

WHITEHALL Octr 17, 1739

PETITION TO THE KING.

TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Address of your majestys Loyal Subjects Subscribers hereof Freeholders and Inhabitants within your majestys Province of Newhampshire in New England, most humbly sheweth,

That there has been a Common report thro'-out this Province for

¹ The navy agent in New Hampshire, Gulston by name, sent a memorial to his superior officials, complaining of the defenceless state of the province, in the face of a possible war. This, with a letter complaining of Governor Belcher, was sent to the Lords of Council, who, in turn, referred the papers to the Board of Trade, which presented the report now printed. The Privy Council refused to accept this report, in order that the Governor might have an opportunity to answer the criticisms made upon his conduct. The matter was finally determined against the wishes of those who had asked to be annexed to Massachusetts. Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, I. 255.

Several years past that the Province line would soon be settled and that one Mr. Thomlinson of London would get it done but many fear'd it was only a Pretence (being a Popular matter) to Cover another Design of Some Discontented Persons, to get a New Governor; and it Seems what the more discerning People Apprehended is now Come to pass for we are informed that the said Mr. Thomlinson has Petitioned your majesty that this Province may not be any longer under the Government of the same person that is Governor of the Massachusetts Bay, than which hardly anything can be more Injurious and Distructive to this Province (if it should take Effect) for the Province is very small and very Poor, and we suppose the smallest and Porest in your majestys dominions that Supports a Government and is Wholly unable to maintain a separate Governor whose dependance will be wholly on said Province for a Subsistance and moreover this Province is so scituated that in Case of a war it will be Exceedingly Exposed to the Incursions of the French and Indians (as in times past) being frontier both by Sea and Land, and without the Assistance and Protection of the Massachusets in Case of an Invasion must in all Human Probability be Inevitably lost with as many of the lives of your majestys subjects as Cannot fly into the Neighbouring Government for Reffuge.

We therefore Crave your Majestys permission to lay our selves at your feet, and Earnestly deprecate this Unreasonable and Unjust Attempt of Mr. Thomlinson who under the Pretence of being our friend is in this thing working our Ruin, and humbly to Beseech your Majesty that Instead thereof if it may Consist with your Majestys Royal wisdom and goodness We may be joined to the Massachusets Bay as a part of that Province but if that be too great a favour for us We humbly Implore your Majesty that (at Least) we may remain under the Just and Acceptable Administration of our present Governor and be always Continued under the Government of the same Person who shall from time to time be Appointed the Governor of that Province.

And your Petitioners as in duty Bound Shall Ever pray etc.

[Endorsed] Copy of the Petition going about for Signers for N. Hampshire to be annexed to the Mass. 1739.

THOMLINSON TO ATKINSON.¹

LONDON, the 14th of July, 1742.

SIR, — I have not yet had any of your Favours, Therefore I don't know what to say to you, or have I heard any thing from any of

¹ From the *Belknap Papers* in this Society, i. 32.

my Friends of your Province since the Governor's Arrival, except a short Letter or two from the Governor, and Letters on my Business from Mark Wentworth, and I should be very glad to hear that you goe on right. I Congratulate you on your promotion, and I hope you will Inherit some of the Vertues of your predecessor as well as his post; particularly his attention to, and assiduity in Business. I hear that you and Mr. Brown and Mr. Sherborn are becomed followers of Mr. Whitfield. This news had no other effect on me then to make me Laugh. I assure you that it did not surprise me when I first heard it in the New England Coffee house, or has it since given me much concern, as I know and believe their are Numbers besides yourselves that are desirous to get to Heaven by Charms Incantation, or in a Sling. Pray Sir have you heard of a Comet that appear'd here some months since, and made a great stir amongst some people. I assure you there is now no more talk about it then about Whitfield. I leave it to you to run the Comparition to what Length you please, and draw what Conclusions you please. Your two Friends may help you out at a dead lift, especially the latter, as he has been a help mate to many a Man.

You will by this time be likely to fall into another Error, in thinking that I have much time upon my hands, when I can truly assure you that I have only time to add that I am most truely, Sir, Your most obedient Humble Servant

JOHN THOMLINSON.

ROBERT CRUTTENDEN TO ——. ¹

DEAR SIR, — I am a good deal at a loss wether to Consider my Self in the present Letter, as discharging a debt which I confess I owe you for a very obliging One I received soon after your returne to N. England; or only as Secretary to my very dear Friend and yours, Mr. Whitefield. If you take it in the first Light I ought to make an Apology for not having wrote before, if in the latter that I write now; because I am very sensible nothing from me can make up for the Pleasure a Letter under his own Hand would have given you and his Friends in America.

You will however receive one Advantage from my new Office, in which he has at the same time shewn his own Judgement and consulted your Interest. I mean his choice of a Person who has little else to do, by which means you will receive the News of his Health, and continued Success here much sooner by my Hands than the Multi-

¹ Found among the papers of Daniel Rindge, but it bears too early a date to have been addressed to him.

plicity of his Affairs would have permitted you to have done by his own. And I please my self you will rejoice to hear that the work of the Lord is still prospering in his Hands, whatever way you come by the Notice of it.

I suppose it was with this view he proposed this Employment for me, and I am too fondly his Friend to refuse any Opportunity of serving him, tho' at the Expence of my own Reputation, which I can easily give up for a less valuable motive than the hope of Assisting him in his more Important Labours, by taking this part of his work upon my self.

As he informs me he has not had an opportunity of writing very particularly since his Arrival here: I find I must begin my Account much earlier than I designed, or would otherwise have been necessary: that by a view of the State of things during his Absence, with which I was unhappily but too well acquainted, you may form the better Judgement of the Difficulties he had to Struggle with at his first coming to the Tabernacle, and the Necessity of the Steps he has been obliged to take since he has been amongst Us.

The Divisions Mr. Whitefield foresaw before he left us, and which were only restrained by his Presence, soon broke out after his Departure both here and in the several Societies in the Country. I have no designe to Trace these, either to the Persons or Principles which laid the Unhappy Foundation of these Confusions, for though I sincerely abhor the last, yet I must still retain a Love and Pity for some of the first; and would therefore willingly throw a Veil over what I can neither Justify, or even Excuse. It is certain that as new Doctrines now began to be preached so Steps very Irregular were taken for their Support and Propagation, which was carried on with a Zeal greatly too hot to des[erve] the Name of Christian. The true Source of all these Confusions Mr. Whitefield easily foresaw, but had it not in his power to prevent. Among the several Persons he had Encouraged to assist him in carrying on his work, he wanted One of sufficient weight and Authority to be intrusted with the Direction of it in his Absence; but one so qualified was not to be found. Mr. Cenic¹ was beyond question the most popular Man among them, and perhaps it was his Misfortune that he was so: he had been Instrumental in doing a great deal of good, and many will I doubt not have cause for Thankfulness that they ever heard him; but he was Young, without Education, had little Experience to govern a natural warmth of Temper which required a great deal. To him Mr. White-

¹ John Cennick, who had deserted Wesley for Whitefield. "In the spring of 1740, Wesley opened it [his school in Kingswood, Bristol], and appointed John Cennick to be its master. Soon after his appointment, Cennick turned Calvinist." — Tyerman, *Life of the Rev. George Whitefield*, i. 467.

field left the cheif Direction of his Affairs during his Absence, tho' I have reason to believe the Choice was really more the Effect of Necessity than Approbation. It is not my Designe to draw particular Characters: in general they were Persons of no Learning which they endeavour'd to make up by a great deal of Zeal unattended with Knowledge, which began now to be cryed down as a very Unnecessary and indeed Dangerous Qualification in a Preacher. *Hinc illae Lacrimae.* To support the Different contending Parties who now sett up for themselves, and I think with equal Pretences, for none of them had Sense enough to be Confuted, or Modesty enough to suppose it possible they could be in the wrong; New Preachers were introduced and Countenanced, still weaker than themselves. without any Qualification but an Implicit Zeal to spread the Doctrines they were directed to propagate (as far at least as they were capable of Understanding them) in their Divisions in the Country. Hence it necessarily happened that Principles bad enough in themselves, were still made worse by the Ignorance of those who had the care of spreading them, but in a little time thought themselves qualified to make Additions and improvements of their own. Like a Man who sett out wrong at first, every fresh step only serves to bewilder him the more, and the faster he runs, the farther he gets out of his Knowledge.

| By these means, as all or most of them were introduced and took their turns at the Tabernacle¹ in the compass of a few months, the Hearers like the Babel Builders were confounded with new Schemes of Doctrine, all asserted with equal Confidence, and maintained with equal pretences to the Teachings of the Spirit on whom they made no scruple to father all the wild Conceits of their own heated Brains, so that in a little time the most implicit Understanding was at a loss what to beleive. Scarce an Error since the Reformation (and for some of them we must go a great deal higher to Trace their Originals) but found a Preacher and a Patron. Antinomianism in all its Branches became the favourite Subject at one season; and then nothing was heard but Actual Justification from all Eternity; no Sin in Gods People and therefore no Confession or Repentance for it; a full Liberty from the moral Law, not only as a Covenant of works but a rule of Duty, and a regard to it represented as a legal Spirit and gendering to Bondage. The Beleivers Holiness like his Justification was now only to be looked for from without him, and like that equally instantaneous and perfect.

In a few weeks, Sabellianism, tho' improperly so called, took its turn, and by the Preacher the Hearers were taught to Deny the Per-

¹ A large temporary shed erected for Whitefield in London, a little to the north of Wesley's Foundry. It was opened in April, 1741.

sonality of the Father and the Spirit who were both swallowed up in the Deity of the Son, and in Spite of all the positive Directions to the contrary; no Prayers were for the future to be addressed to either of them by us, nor any Satisfaction given by the Son. To reconcile all these Jarring and self Contradictory principles Letters were publickly read in their Societies, and afterwards printed, to exhort the Hearers to receive whatever should be delivered without Examination, which was represented as greiving the Spirit of God by whose immediate Inspiration they all spake. I write in pain whilst I open such Scenes of Confusion, and willingly suppress the very mention of all the strange Conceits which took their turns to rise and fall with the Popularity, or rather the Confidence of the Importer. There still remained two or three who retained the first principles on which Mr. Whitefield sett out at first, but far from being able to put a stop to the Torrent, all they could do was to prevent there own being carried with the Stream, which every day met with less Opposition by the withdrawing of the best and soberest part of the Auditory. The Dissenting Ministers, many of whom had at first favoured Mr. Whitefield, now took the Alarm. They saw their respective Flocks in danger of falling from the Faith once delivered to the Saints, and exerted their Influence to restrain them from a farther Attendance at the Tabernacle.

About this time Mr. Cenic and one or two more of their Preachers, avowedly embraced the Moravian principles and took a formal Leave of their Hearers carrying with them all they were capable of Influencing to their new Friends. This Defection was soon after followed by another who took this Opportunity of setting up for himself, under pretence of still greater purity of Doctrine and more Gospel Light, tho' without acquainting his Followers how he came by it. I think the numbers who went off with this new Teacher were not very great, yet they helpt still to lessen a declining cause, and thin a Place which had already lost the best part of its Auditory. To all these I am sorry must be added a great number who from promising beginings, like the Stony ground Hearers, gradually lessened in their Zeal for any preaching at all, and so gave up Methodism and Christianity at the same time. I am quite tired of so disagreeable a Subject. Let it then suffice that by these Steps Mr. Whitefield at his returne found an empty Congregation, and the few who remained both Preachers and Hearers in the State the Prophet represents the Jewish Church: Ephraim against Judah, and Judah against Ephraim, and both against Manasseh. Destitute of Harmony amongst themselves, and what was still worse, tho' a necessary consequence of the former, destitute of the Spirit of God, whose Presence no longer was visible in a place where once his power had been so

gloriously manifested. The soberest of their Preachers freely owning that they had spent their Strength in vain, whilst the Arm of the Lord was no longer revealed in their Assemblies. This, Sir, was the state of things when Mr. Whitefield arrived here, at once to the Surprise and Joy of his Friends who had almost given over the hopes of seeing him any more. The manner in which he was received, the Numbers who immediately attended him at the Tabernacle, and above all the Power which accompany'd his Preaching soon opened a view of Usefulness sufficient to encourage and animate him against the Difficulties which would have frighted a Person of less Resolution. God was with him as in former Years and therefore no wonder that he sett his Face like Flint. It was soon seen that he had lost no part of their Affection, and equally visible that they were not disappointed in their Hopes and Expectations from him. But as he will read over what I am now writing I am prevented saying many things which Truth would allow and my own Heart dictates. I must therefore content my self with a plain Narrative of matters of Fact without any Reflections of my own.

Mr. Whitefield was soon sensible as well as his Friends, that all Eyes would be attentive to his first Steps: each party pretended to Claim him for their own, and confidently published their Assurance that he would declare for them. There was a necessity that some should be retained from among the Preachers he found here, to assist him here in Town and carry on the Societies in the Country, which tho' greatly diminished in their Numbers it was thought proper still to support. It was equally fit the rest should be dismissed, whose Turbulent Zeal, and eminent want of Capacity had rendered most Obnoxious to the soberest part of the remaining Auditory. To do this Mr. Whitefield took some time to be informed of their respective Characters, and then made his choice with so much impartiality and Judgement that all parties appeared satisfied. The Persons now left as his Assistants will I hope by the Peaceableness of their Tempers, the goodness of their Hearts, and their daily growth in Knowledge, make up for the Defects with which they sett out and behave so that none may despise their Youth.

The Effects of this happy change were soon visible in the Face of our Assemblies, and the bills daily put up from Persons under Convictions by the word, or such as had received Comfort and Establishment in their holy Faith spoke aloud that God was amongst us of a Truth. Thus matters were happily restored and Peace and Truth once more met in our Religious Assemblies, and give an encouraging hope that God even our own God will again bless us, till all the Ends of the Earth are made to fear him.

In consequence of this happy beginning many of the Dissenting

Ministers who had discouraged their Hearers from any farther attendance at the Tabernacle, now received him with open Arms and confirm'd their Love to him. I have frequently had the pleasure of seeing Numbers of them, who have not only met him at my own House, but of attending them to the Tabernacle from which they have always come with great Satisfaction. I waited on him soon after his Arrival to take his last Farewell of my dear, and valueable Friend the Rev'd Dr. Watts, and had the satisfaction of some of his dying Prayers for his farther Success.¹

You will here pardon me, Sir, one digression, I write it in the fullness of my own Heart, and I am sure you will read it with equal pleasure. I mean that since your Departure Providence has raised up among us a Number of young Ministers who can sincerely rejoyce that Christ is preached, and the Doctrines of his Gospel propagated even by Persons who may differ from them in Forms and Ceremonies, whilst they hold the Head, and contend earnestly for the Faith which was once delivered to the Saints. Some of these acknowledge themselves under the divine Blessing Endebted to Mr. Whitefield for their first serious Impressions many Years ago: and others have a Witness of the success attending his preaching in some of their nearest Relatives, or at least in the Additions made to their respective Churches of numbers whose Conversation and Behaviour becomes the Gospell, and are Ornaments to their holy Profession. No wonder then at the disinterested warmth with which they Espouse his Interest, and the Undissembled Love they discover to his Person. It will be sufficient at present that I dont know above 3 or 4 in the whole Body of Independent Ministers who are not heartily his Friends, and not only encourage their Hearers in their Attendance at the Tabernacle, but go up themselves to that house of the Lord. May the God of Love and Peace strengthen the Union, and confirm what he has wrought for us.

I have a great deal still behind and must therefore goe on. Not long after Mr. Whitefield's arrival, he was sent for by my Lady Huntington, who appointed him² her Chaplain and engaged his Service not only in Praying in the Family, but Preaching to an Auditory of the first distinction, who attended Divine Service at her Ladyship's House. These have been daily increasing in their Numbers and are now no longer ashamed to avow and Patronise that Gospell, which I trust has been made the power of God to the awakening of some and the Conversion of others. As these are most of them equally distinguished by their superiour understandings, as well

¹ Isaac Watts died November 25, 1748.

² August, 1748. The appointment was intended to throw some protection round Whitefield against persecution under the laws.

as by Stations, Enthusiasm can have no place in this surprising change, which quite confounds our modern Freethinkers; and is become the subject of Conversation even in Cesar's household.

When I mention the Names of my Lord Chesterfield, the Earl of Bath, my Lord Bolinbrook,¹ the Marques of Lothian, and of honourable Women not a few you will easily see that the cause in which he is embarked is not like to be given up to a Banter or a Sneer, the strongest Weapons which have been hitherto employ'd against it, and the only ones I beleive it is likely to apprehend. Some of these Ladies have even given their Attendance at the Tabernacle. I own, Sir, from these which I trust are but the beginnings of what God is about to doe for us. I indulge my self in the prospect of much greater displays of the Redeemers Glory, when the Scandal of the Cross shall no longer blind the Eyes of the great and honourable, the Wise and prudent from a Profess'd subjection to the Doctrines of the Gospel. May I only be permitted to see these hopes confirmed, and I know nothing I desire to see more in this World. Mr. Whitefield's constant Attendance on that pious and truly honourable Lady three days in a week, and on Sabath days in the Evening oblidges him to employ the best Assistance he can procure at those times for the Tabernacle, and I have the pleasure of seeing it attended in his Absence much better than before.² He had from his first coming here designed a Journey to North Britain, and as soon as matters were settled to his Satisfaction sett out to visit his Friends there: where he found Divisions carry'd much higher than at home.³ Two or three Parties each calling themselves the Established Church, and so eager in the support of their claims, that Parents excommunicated their own Children, who in returne with equal Zeal anathematiz'd their Parents: Brothers not indeed delivering their Brethren to Death (that thank God being out of their power,) but as farr as they could giving them up to Satan, and all this as far as I am capable of understanding the grounds of the quarrell, about nothing at all. It was impossible he could be received by Parties so directly opposite to each other, tho I beleive he had Prudence enough not to interest himself in a Dispute in which he could have no possible concerne; as it turned on matters relating to their solemn League and Covenant. His Business there being to visit his Friends, and Preach the Gospel

¹ It was Bolingbroke who wrote to Lady Huntingdon, that the king had "represented to his grace of Canterbury [Herring] that Mr. Whitefield should be advanced to the bench, as the only means of putting an end to his preaching."

² Upon his return from America he had announced (September, 1748,) "that he must leave to others the formation of 'societies,' and give himself to general preaching." — *Works*, II. 169.

³ He made a journey of six weeks in Scotland, meeting with much opposition from the Synod in Glasgow, Lothian and Perth.

in such Churches without Distinction where he could obtain permission. This he did though with much Contention, yet attended with the demonstration of the Spirit and of power. Upon the whole he returned well satisfied with the success of his Journey and in a better state of Health than he left us.

He has since been down in the West, and is preparing in a day or two to returne thither again; May the blessing of God attend him whereever he goes, and continue him for farther Service, in which I am sure I have the Concurrence of your Prayers and those of his Friends in America: especially as I am afraid they are like to Enjoy the greatest benefit from his future Labours: his settled purpose at present being to returne thither the latter part of this Year, though prehaps Providence may give him cause to change his Resolutions.

It is time, Sir, to put an end to so long a letter, having answered the principal End of it, by giving you the best Account I can of the present state of things here, if in returne you will favour me at an hour of leisure, with the Success the Gospel meets with among you, I shall esteem the Obligation, tho I am afraid the Accounts from your parts, at least if my intelligence be true, will not be so favourable as your Friends here could wish.

You will please to dispose of Mr. Whitefield's most Affectionate Remembrance to all his Friends, and excuse the Hand he has Employed to send it by, from his other necessary Avocations. Remember me Dear Sir, at all times in your Prayers, and be assured you shall not be forgotten by Your ever Affectionate Friend and Serv't.

ROBERT CRUTTENDEN.

LONDON, March 15th, 1748/9

[Endorsed] Robert Cruttenden's Letter wrote from London in Behalf of Mr. Whitfield — that grand Hypocrite.¹

Mr. GREENOUGH communicated from his own collection a letter of James Watson Webb, of the *Courier and Enquirer*, enclosing a paper signed by Kossuth.

J. W. WEBB TO DANIEL WEBSTER.

MY DEAR SIR, — Kossuth sailed from here on the 14th inst. under the *alias* of Alex. Smith; and on the day previous to his sailing, he signed the following contracts. That they are genuine admits of no question; and the gentleman who placed them in my hands, says he can abundantly verify the signature. Henningsen carelessly left them on the table in Kossuth's room; and he in the *hurry* of his

¹ See the letter of *Thomlinson to Atkinson*, July 14, 1742, p. 204, *supra*.

departure, forgot to take them with him. That they indicate his connexion with some movement against Hayti from this quarter, is evident; and therefore, I at once place the document in your possession, to be used as you may deem advisable. Recent intelligence from Hayti appear to anticipate a movement of this kind.

Please acknowledge the rect. of these papers as I am pledged to have them forth-coming, if not wanted by you.

Yours very truly

J. WATSON WEBB.¹

[ENCLOSURE.]

NEW YORK, 13th July, 1852.

I hereby authorize Charles Frederick Henningsen and William Nelson to negotiate on my behalf, my co-operation with a company for the defence and colonization of the republic of So. Domingo on condition that such funds (or other available securities) be previously collected as shall cover the expenses to which I may become liable as member of such company through the contract, whereby it engages itself to the Dominican republic, and I further commission the said Charles Frederick Henningsen in that case to survey and report upon the contemplated seat of hostilities, to plan the campaign and represent me in it as political and military agent during its continuance.

L. KOSSUTH.

Mr. NORCROSS contributed two letters written by Mrs. Andrew Stevenson to Dr. Thomas Sewall, of Washington, D. C. Her husband, was, at this time, United States Minister at the Court of St. James. Sewall was born in Augusta, Maine, in 1787, but removing to Washington in 1820, occupied the chair of Anatomy in the Columbian College until his death in 1845. In 1837 he published two lectures, *Examination of Phrenology*, which were reprinted in London in the following year. It is reviewed in the *North American Review*, XLV. 505.

¹ Webster's opinion of Kossuth may be learned from the following extract of a letter written by him on July 16, 1852, to Edward Curtis: "John Taylor has recovered from the bull; and a painter has come all the way from Boston to paint an animal that could throw John Taylor over his head. John Taylor entertains a very bad opinion of that bull, and says he is no more fit to run at large than Kossuth himself; and Fletcher says these Hungarian cattle, biped or quadruped, are dangerous to American institutions and constitutions." — *Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster*, II. 538.

MRS. STEVENSON TO DR. SEWALL.

LONDON, August 8th, 1837.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—I received your kind letter by Doctor Warren some days *before* the one you had previously written me with the books, and hasten to thank you most sincerely for both, and also for the little volume on phrenology which has, I must confess, greatly shaken my faith. You will not be surprised that I hold rather tenaciously to it, when I tell you, many *good things* have been said of my *head*. I delivered the one intended for Mr. Rush, and in *my own name* requested his notice of it in the papers. I feel highly gratified, my dear Sir, that you should remember me with so much kindness, and I must still hope you will keep me a warm corner in your heart. I have often thought of you since my sojourn here, and both my husband and myself made enquiries after you, from our countrymen who have visited this Queen of Cities. I regret that I have not been able to see more of your friends the Warrens. They dined and spent an evening with us, and I have two or three times met them at evening parties; but since their arrival in London, I have been absent for a week or ten days with the hope of renovating my health by a little country air, as I have been suffering all the winter from frequent attacks of influenza and from long confinement to the smoky atmosphere of London. We have seen much of English society, and formed many valuable acquaintances. There is in this land of our fore-fathers much to delight an American who feels associated with its fame, its literature, and its glory, We can scarcely feel ourselves foreigners, speaking the language, and familiar with its literature, its customs, and even bearing on our countenances the lineaments of a common parentage. My husband and myself have much cause to feel and think thus towards England, for we have been received and treated with a kindness and hospitality never to be forgotten. We have been particularly pleased with our short excursions to the Country. In our young Country we live in the *Future*, here in the past, where every object brings up the gathered grandeur of a thousand years, we behold with the deepest interest what from familiarity has become indifferent to an Englishman, who is astonished tho' *flattered* at our enthusiasm.

The last few months have given birth to many interesting events in the political world here. The death of the King,¹ and the accession of a young and lovely princess in the spring-time of youth and innocence has run these grave Englishmen mad with loyalty,

¹ William IV died June 20, 1837.

and it is said the age of Chivalry will be revived, Nothing is talked of by the young and the old, the grave and the gay, but her Majesty's wisdom and goodness, her graceful dignity and calm self-possession, united to such beautiful simplicity and *naturalness*. We dined with her a few days since, and I must confess, amidst all the gorgeous magnificence of her new Palace I thought her the object most to be admired, most wondered at, so young, so new to the world, and yet possessing so pre-eminently all those qualities fame has ascribed to her. The Whigs proclaim her a *prodigy*, the Tories shrug their shoulders, and say significantly, "*nous verrons.*" But I must not encroach too long on your valuable time. I pray you to present me kindly to your amiable family, and especially to that excellent and kind-hearted *Lady* who promised me her *prayers*. With our united cordial regards, I am, my dear Doctor, Yours very truly and sincerely

SARAH C. STEVENSON.

LONDON, July 23d, 1840.
32 Upper Grosv'r St.

MY DEAR DOCTOR, — I am afraid you have thought me forgetful, if not ungrateful, for your kindness in having so long delayed to thank you for your kind letter, and the accompanying book; but not so, I assure you. It would be too tedious to enumerate all the causes of my silence, but when I tell you we have lately been in affliction, I am sure, your kind heart will not only forgive, but sympathize with us. My husband lost in June his only remaining brother, which has been a great grief to us both; and to be stricken with affliction in this great bustling world of London is indeed doubly sad. To see the busy stream of population with its ebb and flow forever hurrying on in pursuit of pleasure, or of gain, the unceasing roll of carriages, the riding and driving, the noise, bustle and confusion is distracting to the bruised spirit; but in consequence of the absence of the Sec'y of Legation, we have been confined to town by the duties of the office, and unable to seek the repose and tranquility we have so much required.

We have read with great pleasure your most able exposure of the errors of phrenology, and I think even Gall and Spurzheim, could they return to this lower world, would be convinced by your arguments, and forced to acknowledge the absurdity of their theory. For myself, I confess, the specious plausibility of the science, (if indeed it may be so called,) had captivated my imagination and made me half a convert; but your book has perfectly convinced me of its futility and also of its mischievous tendency. Mr. Stevenson has taken the proper measures to have it presented to the Queen,

with the expression of your admiration and high consideration, etc., etc. She is, as you have justly said, a most extraordinary person, so young, and inexperienced to have conducted herself upon every occasion with so much propriety and firmness is really astonishing. When the late attempt was made upon her life, she was as calm and self-possessed as the Hero of Waterloo could have been under similar circumstances, or our own Jackson, with his iron nerves. She heard the report of the first pistol and remarked to Prince Albert how improper it was for persons to be allowed to shoot birds in the park, but whilst speaking she saw the second pistol directed immediately to herself with deliberate aim, in a few yards of her carriage. Undismayed she watched his movements, and then stooping her person she says, she *thought*, "If it please Providence I may escape." Her going immediately to her Mother to prevent her being alarmed at any report which might reach her, was a touch of good feeling that renders her more interesting to me, than her Heroism.¹

I hope you will have the kindness to present me to the amiable Lady of your family whom I had the pleasure of meeting but once, but whose kind benevolence I can never forget. I trust she has not forgotten me, or the promise she made me on parting. Accept, my dear Sir, the assurances of our warm and sincere friendship and regard for yourself, and believe me, very truly yours,

S. C. STEVENSON.

Remarks were made during the meeting by ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS and JOHN D. LONG.

¹ This attempt upon her life was made June 10, 1840, by a "brainless potboy," Edward Oxford, who fired two shots at her from a pistol as she was driving through the Green Park, from Buckingham Palace to Hyde Park Corner.